HAIR STYLES IN ANCIENT INDIAN ART

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K. Krishna Murthy

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Foreword

It is indeed a great pleasure to write a foreword to the Monograph on 'HAIR STYLES IN ANCIENT INDIAN ART' prepared by Dr. K. Krishna Murthy of the Archaeological Survey of India. His book on Material Culture as reflected in the Gandhara Art has been very well received by the world of scholars. I have no doubt that the present monograph will also meet approbation at the hands of scholars.

Dr. Krishna Murthy who worked on the material culture as reflected in the Nagarjunakonda Sculptures has been consistently working on this aspect of Ancient Indian Culture. As is well known, there is no dearth of material for such studies inasmuch as hundreds and thousands of sculptures are available in India. They represent different regions of India and mark certain styles. It is essential that the studies on the lines undertaken by Dr. Krishna Murthy are furthered to understand the magnitude of cultural give and take. When a layman looks at the sculptures, the hair styles and the ornaments appear to be more imaginary than real. However, it may be pertinent to point out that Ancient Indian literature does refer to certain hair styles with nomenclatures for a few of these. On the other hand, certain hair styles seem to be the distinct contribution of foreign contact. Dr. Krishna Murthy

has very carefully collected his data and presented it with a full understanding of the subject. It is remarkable that inspite of heavy administrative duties he still finds time for academic pursuits.

I hope that scholars as well as laymen will receive this Monograph with due appreciation.

S. B. DEO
Director
Deccan College
Post Graduate & Research Institute,
Poona-6.

Preface

Beautification of hair is innate in human nature. Since time immemorial, Indians have taken tremendous interest in exhibiting their coiffures. In no country, except perhaps Japan, has so much imagination, thought and artistic genious gone into devising hair-styles as is evident in India. This is apparent from the rich variety of coiffures delineated in the Indian plastic art. An exclusive and systematic study of the different varieties of hair-styles as reflected in the early Indian art has not been done so far, except for some stray articles published in research journals and books. Even in these books the subject of coiffures forms only a part of a chapter. I have published some articles on the coiffures of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Gandhāra in *Arts Asiatique* and *Journal of Orissa Historical Research Society*. A book devoted to a study of the ancient Indian hair-styles was overdue.

An endeavour, however, has been made in the form of the present book to give a kaleideoscopic variety of hair-styles known to the people who lived in India from the 2nd century B.C. to the 6th-7th centuries A.D. In bringing out such a study, the sculptural and mural data have been supplemented by the literary evidence from many sources. The sculptures of Barhut, Sānchī, Amarāvati, Gandhāra, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathurā, as also the paintings of Ajanta, impeccably

portray varieties of hair-styles known to their periods. It is these sculptures and murals that form the basic data of our study.

In the preparation of this book I have received valuable help in various ways from my colleagues Sarvashri S. Sudhakar Naidu, M. Rami Reddy, S.C. Edwin and Sudhir Kumar, all of the Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad. I express them my thanks. My special thanks are also due to Shri R.Y. Krishna Rao who prepared the type-script of this book.

Shri S. Sudhakar Naidu, the artist, prepared the line drawings included in the book, Shri M. Rami Reddy, the draughtsman, composed the plates of the line drawings, Shri S.C. Edwin and Shri Sudhir Kumar photographed the illustrations. I am grateful to all of them. My thanks are also due to Shri Swadesh Prasad Singhal, the publisher, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, for neat and speedy printing of this book.

Last but not the least, I express my thanks to my wife, for all her help.

K. KRISHNA MURTHY

Abbreviations

Ait. Br.	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
Amara.	*Amara kośa*
AI	*Ancient India*
Āśv. G.S	*Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*
AV	*Atharvaveda*
Bau. G.S.	*Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*
BDCRI	*Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute*
Gob. G.S.	*Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*
IAR	*Indian Archaeology –A Review*
J.	*Jātaka*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
JUPHS	*Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*
Kāt. S.S.	*Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*
Māl.	*Mālavikāgnimitra*
Megh.	*Meghadūta*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
Ragh.	*Raghuvaṁśa*
Ṛtu.	*Ṛtusaṁhāra*

RV	*Ṛgveda*
Śāk	*Śākuntalaṁ*
Śat. Br.	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
Tait. Br.	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
Tait. Samh.	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*

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Introductory

Premise of the Material Study

The following study of the hair-styles depicted in the sculptures and paintings of the early Indian art is based on the hypothesis that the sculptors and painters of the early Indian art, while depicting the life scenes of the Buddha or the Jātaka stories in bas-reliefs and paintings, had their minds on the contemporary persons and things around them. Although they portrayed the figures and the backgrounds in accordance with the requirements of the texts, yet in carving out the Jātaka stories on stone the artists were conscious of their limitations. They had to work within certain limits, showing for the most part only what the stories required. However, the artists took such liberty as would not come into conflict with the general trend of the texts. It is possible that they supplemented the Jātaka texts with the exact parallels from amongst their own society and environment. Thus, some parts of the sculptures and paintings have an indigenous character confined to the land and its surrounding regions. Likewise, many aspects of Indian life have got portrayed in ancient Indian art. No doubt, each aspect reflects variety and refinement through the ages.

The present study is an endeavour to visualise, through the reflections of the early Indian art, the various fashions of the hair prevailing in ancient India. The study of the sculptures of Bārhut, Sānchī,

Amarāvati, Gandhāra, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Mathurā and the murals of Ajanta—a range which covers the entire early Indian periods—helps, to a large extent, in understanding the various hair-styles popular in the Śuṅga, Sātavāhana, Ikshvāku, Kushāṇa and Gupta periods.

Art is an expression of a society--its tastes, ideology and temper. It preserves for us the reflections of the spirit and the manners of the people who create it. The true history of a country cannot be just the chronological narration of the political events. It must also deal with the physiognomy and the innermost character of the successive generations. A conscientious historian inquires into the various aspects of the life of the people.

There is no book devoted exclusively to coiffures. Mr. Motichandra's *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffures in Ancient and Medieval India* gives a general idea of the arrangement of the hair from the earliest times to the 6th century A.D. The treatment of the subject could have been more exhaustive, if different parts of the country in different periods had been dealt with in greater detail. In my books, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā—A Cultural Study* and *The Gandhāra Sculptures - A Cultural Survey*, I dealt at length with the coiffures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Gandhāra. The relevant chapters from these books have been utilized in the present book.

The present work is intended to offer a complete account of the coiffures of the people who lived from the 2nd century B.C. to the 6th/7th century A.D. In enumerating the hair-styles as reflected in the sculptural and mural representations, the literary data has been of immense value. The antiquities of Harappa have been examined to understand the coiffures of the Indus Valley period. The *vedic*, the *brahmānical* and *epic* literature widened the scope for understanding the coiffures of those periods. The work of Pāṇini has also been studied as it throws light on the subject of hair-styles. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* is again another literary source which is of immense value in interpreting the hair-styles of ancient India. Similarly, Hāla's *Gāthā Saptaśatī* presents an account of the hair-styles known to the Sātavāhana period. The accounts of Megasthenese and Arrian have also been taken into consideration. Likewise, Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes a variety of hair-styles that enables us to know the hair-styles of the Ikshvāku

period. Besides, the *Divyāvadāna*, Vātsyāyana, and the *Mahābhāshya* have been critically examined to know about the coiffures of the Kushāṇa period. For the Gupta period, all the important works of Kālidāsa had to be relied upon. Similarly, the *Mānasāra*, the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the *Amarakośa*, the *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa*, Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, and the *Harshacharita* give ample information as ragards the hair-styles known to the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. Again, Yuan Tsang's account throws flood of light on the hair-styles known to the peoples of the 7th century A.D.

Literary Sources



The literary citations to the coiffures known to the vedic period are copious.[1] The variety of hair-styles mentioned in the vedic literature shows the importance the people of the period gave to hair dressing. It has been customary with human beings in all ages to arrange their hair in one way or other.[2] The beautification of the hair is innate in human nature and as such the people of the vedic period cannot be an exception. The vedic literature mentions words like *opaśa, kaparda, kumba, kurīra, keśa, śikhaṇḍa, śikhā, sīman, pulasti, sṭukā* etc., which connote the coiffures.

Opaśa

This hair-style was common amongst both men and women; therefore, in the vedic period this coiffure was not the exclusive monopoly of the females. The *opaśa* as worn by men which consisted in gathering up of the hair with a small top knot leaving it loose enough to form a dome like cover or flounced cap. Indra in vedic literature is often cited as wearnig this *opaśa.*[3] The hair-style looked like a thatched net or covered roofing of the house when worn by women.[4] The *opaśa* as worn by women could have been a loose top knot.[5]

Kaparda

Kaparda was another way of hair dressing accepted both by men and women. When it was worn by men it was always a spiral coil of the braided, plaited, matted hair piled on the top of the head in different angles. This hair-style is frequently mentioned as worn by *kapardin* gods and their followers. In the *Rgveda*, a reference has been made to Vasishṭha having long hair braided and coiled on the right.[6] Similarly, gods *Rudra* and *Pūshan* have been described as having their hair arranged in the form of a conch-shell.[7] Such an arrangement has been alluded to by the term, *kapardin*. This hair-style heralds the hair-style exhibited by the modern ascetics. The traditional *kapardin* style is adopted by the Śaiva devotees and by men in south-east India and Orissa even to this day.

The coiffure, *kaparda*, as worn by women indicated a different style. The young women wore their hair in four *kapardas*.[8] The four *kapardas* of the women are compared to the four corners of the altar. In all probability, the four *kapardas* of the maiden must have formed crown-shaped coiffure.

Kurīra

The hair-style *kurīra*[9] could have been a horn-shaped coiffure, possibly with the long braids of the women. A net or veil might have been hung from their horn. It is interesting to note that this kind of hair-style still survives in the hair-styles of the women living in the hilly tracts between the upper Sutlej and Ganges.

Kumba

Kumba is clearly from *khompa*, with hemispherical or pot-shaped coil at the back of the head.[10] This hair-style is evidently feminine. The word obviously suggests a connection with *kumbha*, *kambu* etc., implying something rounded. The hair-style, *kumba*, gets its citation in the *Atharvaveda* and much later in the *Sūtras*. In all probability, it was

primarily a *Angīrasa* style and it may be related to the Tamil *kudum* (coil of hair).

Sīman

The word *sīman*, meaning the parting of the hair, occurs in the *Atharvaveda* and later works.[11] In fact, as hair was matter of great care to the vedic Indians, there are several hymns in the *Atharvaveda* to secure its ample growth.[12]

Pulasti

In the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*,[13] this word is mentioned to mean the hair worn in plain style. Dr. Motichandra, however, interprets this hair-style as another style of *kaparda* worn in the front.

Sṭukā

The term *sṭukā* in the vedic literature probably means the braids of hair. The terms *pṛthu-sṭukā* and *vishita-shṭukā* mentioned in the *Rgveda* connotes broad and loosened braids.[14] The vedic people were also in the habit of using diadems or tiaras for the decoration of the hair and the word used for this is *tirīta*.[15]

Śikhaṇḍa

In the later *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, the word *śikhaṇḍa* denotes a tuft or lock as mode of wearing the hair.[16]

Śikhā

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[17] the term *śikhā* refers to the knot of the hair worn on the top of the head. The loose top knot was sign of mourning in the case of both the women and men. In the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[18] also the loosened top knot signified mourning. In the *Vedic Kalpa Sūtras*, several ways of wearing hair are mentioned. Perhaps, hair

fashions differed according to the tradition and customs of different families.[19] *Śikhā* had begun to assume importance in the age of the *Sūtras*. This is clear in the *Kātyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, where it is said that on the occassion of a sacrifice, hair and beard excluding *śikhā* should be shaved.[20] Āśvalāyana[21] makes a reference to the use of two locks of hair by girls on either side. The *Āśvalāyana* and *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtras* contend that the hair of the boy should be arranged in accordance with the customs of his family. Apparently, the importance of *śikhā* had grown considerably in the times of *Sūtras*.

The *Gṛhya Sūtras* lay down different rules for arranging the hair of the child. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* says that the hair of the child should be arranged according to the custom of the family. Similarly, the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* asserts that boy may keep one, three or five *śikhās* as the custom of the family permits.[22]

Āśvalāyana further points out that on the occasion of wedding, the bride-groom should untie the bride's two locks of hair.[23] It appears some girls kept two locks of hair, one on the right and the other on the left. It is, however, not known whether this particular fashion of hair-style was widely popular or limited to a certain section of the society.

Pāṇini,[24] in his *Ashṭādhyāyī*, talks of the cultured citizen (*pravīṇa nāgarikas*) and the art of personal decoration (*subhagaṁ karaṇa*). While elucidating the elegant drapery (*āchchhādana*) he also mentions the stylistic coiffure (*keśa-vesha*).[25]

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya goes a long way in supplementing the history of hair dressing of the period. The ascetics either wore braided hair or shaved their hair completely.[26] The term *kalpāka* mentioned by him probably corresponds to the barber class.[27]

This suggests that in the time of Kauṭilya a hair-cut was considered an item of personal decoration. It is interesting that Kauṭilya is silent about the hair-dressing of the kings, the royalty the ministers or the common people.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* refer to the braids as also to the neglect of the coiffure as a mark of anguish and violent excitement.[28]

Hāla's *Gāthā Saptaśatī* speaks of the keen care bestowed on the hair dressing by the people of the period. He speaks of the most lovely coiffure *dhammilla*.[29] It is an elaborate dress of the hair with flowers,

pearls and jewels. There is also a reference to curly hair.

The hair-styles known to the Buddhist period are many. The Jātakas are full of references to the curly hair.[30] Hair tresses on the head with many a curl parted in the middle and tipped with gold, always added to the charm and beauty of the women.[31] The artistic arrangement of the coiffure (*śikhā-bandham*) as given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* [32] was considered an important part of toilet. The people had long hair, while, as usual, the *bhikkus* were forbidden to grow hair for more than two months. In the *Cullavagga* there is a fine description of the toilet procedure. In dressing the hair, it was first smoothened (*osaṇhiti*) by a comb (*koccha*), (*phaṇaka*) and hand comb (*hattha phaṇaka*). For making pomade (*sittha tela*), oil of beeswax (*udaka tela*) was used. However, the treatment of hair or hair-dressing requires a regular procedure. According to the *Milindapañha*,[33] it included first shampooing (*dhovana*) followed by tying of ribbons (*bhandhana*), combing (*koccha*) and then hair-dressing (*kappaka*). This was done before a perfect mirror (*ādarśa maṇḍala*).[34]

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* prescribes hair-styles of women according to their countries.[35] The young women from Malwa wore curled locks (*śiraḥsalaka kuntalam*). The women from Gauḍa had their locks in a top knot (*śikhā*) or braided or plaited the hair (*pāśa veṇikam*). The Ābhīra women dressed their hair in two plaits (*dvi-veṇī dharam*) which were sometimes wound round the head (*śiraha parigama prayāha*). The women of the north-eastern parts of India arranged the tufts of hair in well drawn up positions. The women of southern India wore their hair arranged in the shape of a water vessel held together by an ornament or the locks of their hair were turned backwards from the over-head (*avarṭa lalātikam*). The latter refers to the five plaited hair of the Tamil women mentioned often in the Tamil literature of the period. The Tamil women divided their hair into five parts, twisted or plaited separately, and tied up five tufts allowing the ends to sling down the back in a graceful manner. The boys, as usual, wore *śikhaṇḍa* while the sages had a crown of matted-hair (*jaṭā-mukuṭa*).[36] The menials should have either three *śikhās* on their head or had the head clean-shaven.[37] Similarly, the jester should have a bald head or head with the *kākapāda*.[38]

Much can be known about the hair-styles of Patañjali's time from

his celebrated work, the *Mahābhāshya*. The hair was parted in the middle (*sīmanta*) and the mass of hair was pleated at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls dangling as low as the waist, and ultimately twisted and tied into knot at the back (*keśānāṁ samahāras cūḍaśya keśa cūḍaḥ*).[39] The words like *muṇḍa*, *jaṭā*, *śikhā* are mentioned.[40] The cutting of the hair was also known (*keśān vapti*). Patañjali refers to ladies with dainty hair keeping bob-wig (*tanu keśyaḥ striyāḥ*).[41]

Kālidāsa's references to the hair-styles are prolific. He refers to a cropped head with a long bunch of hair called *śikhā*.[42] Generally, the men had long hair which they tied with hair-band.[43] The boys wore *kāka paksha* hair in locks. These *kāka pakshas* falling on the sides resembled the wings of a raven. *Śikhaṇḍa* was another hair-style in an egg-shaped ball usually associated with children. Women kept their long hair always oiled and combed.[45] The hair was parted and knitted in long tresses (*veṇīs*).[46] These tresses were tied in one knot called *cūḍā* or *śikhā* and put in on the crown of the head.[47] Kālidāsa also speaks of *ekaveṇī*—hair knitted in a single long braid.[48] In the *Rtu Saṁhāra*,[49] a wife in separation has been described as wearing *ekaveṇī*, slinging hair on back upto the hips. In times of mourning, the women refrained from their daily routine of hair dressing.[50] In the *Raghuvaṁśa*,[51] *praveṇī*, a coiffure that hung down almost to the hip with jewelled strip running all among is compared to the beautiful dark streams of Jamunā with golden flamingoes fluttering on its surface in continuous streak suggestive of the plaits of the mother earth arrayed with golden streaks. The *praveṇī* terminated in tasals (*gucchās*) which at times garnished with gold cap studded with pearls and gems (*padatadika*).[52]

The coiffure like *keśapāśa*, *dhammilla* and *jaṭās* were all known to the poet. *Keśapāśa* is a kind of hair-style in the form of a loop which may be either close to the head at the occiput or lower down with loose knot. *Dhammilla*, an elaborate dress of hair with flowers and jewels, is mentioned by the poet very often in his *kāvyas*.[53] It appears that in the Chola period this coiffure was very popular, for it is frequenty depicted in the south Indian bronzes. *Jaṭās*, the matted locks, were worn both by men and women. Another type of coiffure, viz. *kabarī-bandha* with the hair simply rolled up and the flower wreath invariably adorning it was also known to the period.[54]

Most of the hair-styles described by Kālidāsa find place in the early Indiau sculptnres and in Ajanta paintings.[55]

Later *Śilpa* texts speak of coiffures like *jaṭās* and *dhammillas*. The words, *kalpāka*, meaning a tuft of a braided hair, and *kuntala* are often cited in the *Mānasāra*.[56]

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* gives adequate information regarding the hair-styles known to the times. In this work, terms like *lambakeśa* (long-haired), *muktakeśa* (with hair dishevelled), *eka-jaṭā*, *tri-jaṭin*, *cūḍala* (having a top knot), *jaṭāmaline* occur.[57] All these terms throw light on the hair-styles known to the period.

The *Amarakośa* gives ample information on the hair-styles known to the Gupta period.[58] In this work terms like *cikura*, *kuntala*, *kacha*, *keśa*, *śiroruha* connote different types of hair arrangements. The mop of curled hair has been alluded to by the terms *kaiśika* and *kaiśya* Curled locks had two names, viz., *alakā* (curled locks) and *chūrṇa kuntala* (curly ringlets). The *chūrṇa kuntala* (curlier rings) seems to have been a favoured hair-style. The fore-lock or the lock of the hair falling on the fore-head was *bhramaraka* and the side locks were *śikhaṇḍaka*. The chignon in which Hindu women tie up their hair was known as *kavapi* and *keśaveśa*. The braid of hair tied with strings of pearl was *dhammilla śikhā* or the hair lock worn by Hindu men on the top of the head was known as *cūḍā* and *keśapāśi*. Braided hair, the hair plaited and braided in chains, were *veṇī* and *praveṇī*. Long clean hair was known as *śirsanya* and *śirasya*.

In the *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa*, there is a description of the following coiffures, viz., *kuntala* (hair on the head), *dakshiṇāvarta* (curls turned to the right), *taraṅga* (wavy hair), *siṁha kesara* (mane-like hair falling on the neck), *vardhara* (inter-twisted), *juta* (chignon) and *tasara* (silky). What is interesting is that all these literary citations get corroborated in the lithographic delineation.

Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* offers ample information about the hair-styles of the period. During that period women did not prefer to have short hair.[59] They fastened them in long tresses.[60] According to the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, a women's loosening her locks of hair (*keśa-vimokshana*) in the presence of man was construed as a mark of love for him.

Bāṇa of the 7th century A.D. speaks about the coiffures prevailing

his time.[61] He refers to one *Bhaṇḍī* who possessed side locks of curly hair at the age of eight.[62] It appears that the chiefs who visited Harsha had peacock feathers stuck in their top knots (*chūḍam khandakha cit*).[63] The chiefs of Ujjain had top knots on their heads.[64] The custom of having long hair appears to have been common during Bāṇa's time.[65] Bāṇa's friend *Sūdristi* wore at hick bunch of flowers with short top knot.[66] The ascetics had matted locks.[67] One student of Bāṇa wore long tawny braids of hair. Children probably wore matted hair.[68]

Yuan Tsang, who visited India in 7th century A.D., had something to say as regards the hair-styles popular in the period. He writes "the hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil while all the rest of the hair slinging down. Some clip their moustaches or have other fantastic fashion."[69]

REFERENCES

1 As early as in the age of Indus Valley Civilization, even the women were in the know of plaiting the hair with a bow at the end, a favourite way of dressing the hair in modern India (Majumdar and Pusalkar, *The Vedic Age*, p 174) The men dressed their hair in coiled plaits, Pl. XXX. It is noteworthy that similar hair-style, of arranging the hair in coiled plaits at the sides of the head is to be seen in the Babylonian statuary and in contemporary silver statuette from Kish (John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 343).

2 E. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I (New Delhi, 1937), p. 80.

3 *RV*, I, 173, 6; VIII, 14.5: IX, 71.1.

4 In *RV*, X, 85.8, Cf., I, 173.6; VII, 14.5; IX, 71.7; *AV*, VI, 138, 1.2, IX, 3, 8; it is used metaphorically in describing the roof of a house.

5 Das has identified this style with the plaits used in dressing the hair specially of the women. A.C. Das, *Ṛigvedic Culture* (Calcutta, 1925). p. 217.

6 *RV*, VII, 33.

7 *Ibid.*, 1, 14, 1, 15; VI, 55.1; IX, 67, 11; VII, 83.8.

8 *Ibid.*, X, 114.3.

9 *RV*, *I*, 164.

10 Cf *Śat. Brā* , XI, 5, 7, 10 and S.C. Sirkar, *Somes Aspect of the Early Social History of India* (London, 1928).

11 *AV*, IX, 8, 13; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, V, 7.4; *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 4.1; XV. 5.20; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 4, 1, 14. Compare *sīmanta* in *AV*, VI, 134.3; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 11.7, 17.3.

12 *AV*. VI, 136, 137, Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 68; Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, 536, 537.

13 *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV, 5, 9.

14 Das, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

15 *AV*. VIII, 6, 7.

16 *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VII, 3, 16, 2; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 2, 1, 27, etc; *Śikhaṇḍin* means "wearing a tuft of hair" and is found in *AV*. IV, 37, 7; XI, 2, 12 etc.

17 i, 3, 5.

18 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* IV., 2, 9. Compare Bloomfield, *American Journal of Philology*, II, 340; *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, 534.

19 *Gob. G S.*, 11.9.23.

20 *Kāt. G.S.*, 11, 1.9.

21 *Āśv. G.S.*, 1,7, 16-18.

22 *Baud. G.S.*, 11, 4, 17-18.

23 *Āśv. G.S*, 1.7, 16-18.

24 V.S Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini (A study of the cultural material in the Aṣṭādhyāyī)* (Lucknow, 1959), p. 129.

25 *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1.42.

26 R. Shama Sastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (Mysore, 1956), 18, verse 19.

27 *Ibid.*, 20, verse 21.

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30 *J*, V. No. 526, p. 105; VI, No. 540, 1.49; I, 137, 108; III, 541; IV, 365; V, 177, 187; VI, 144.

31 *J*, V p. 156-G. 115, 203-G, 34 (*dvedha siro sadhu bvihatturūpo*).

32 G.P. Majumdar, Toilet, *Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, p. 651.

33 11.11.101.

34 *Lalitavistara*, P. VI, P. 72.16.

35 M M. Gosh, *The Nāṭyaśāstra (A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy and Historionics ascribed to Bharata Muni* (Calcutta, 1950), Vol. I, p 420.

36 Gosh, *op. cit.*, p. 430—*sirah śikhaṇḍa-bhūsitaṁ*.

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39 *Mahābhāshya*, 11.2, 24, 424, 1.1.

40 1.1.2, 17, 1.18.

41 VI.3.34 p. 152, L. 27.

42 *Ragh.*, XVI, 43.

43 *Ibid.*, 11.8.

44 *Ibid.*, 111, 28, XI, 1.42, XVIII.43.

45 *Ṛtu.*, IV. 15; 1, 4, 11, 21.

46 *Megh.*, 2; *Ragh.*, XIX.12; *Śāk.*, p. 250.

47 *M.U.* 29.

48 *Śāk.*, VII, 21, p. 115; *Megh.*, 29.

49 IV.16.

50 *Māl.*, Act V, text pp. 138-41. Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita*, p. 242, text, pp. 242-243.

51 XV.30.

52 C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 106.

53 *Ragh.*, IX.44; *Megh.*, 1.66.

54 *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, Act VI, p. 183.

55 Griffith, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, 50, 54, 60 to 62, 65, 72 to 74 etc.

56 *prakoshṭa valayaṁ chaivamaṁ—bhandha kalapākaṁ, M.*, L. 16.; *dukūla-vasanopetaṁ mukutaṁ kunutalamtva., M.*, LIV.78; *kachit tu kuntala nibhamtunigaṁ makuṭaṁ kuntalam tuva, M.*, 119.

57 D.R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa* (Poona, 1946), p. 87.

58 *Amara.*, II.6, 95-97.

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60 *Ibid.*

61 *Harṣacharita*, pp. 30, 72, 116, 203, 230 and 243.

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63 *Ibid.*, p. 203 and 207.

64 *Kādambarī*, p. 174.

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66 *Ibid.*, p. 72, text 85.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 30, text p. 38.

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Sculptural Evidence

I. BARHUT

The hair-styles revealed in the Barhut sculptures are very limited as compared with those that occur in contemporary Sānchī or Amarāvati sculptures. However, the hair-styles depicted are alluring and show keen interest taken by the people of the Śuṅga period in the matter of hair dressing.

MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Simple hair parted in the middle and allowed to fall back*

A male depicted in the sculpture illustrating *Takkāriya jātaka*[1] has combed his long hair back by parting it in the middle (*Fig*. I, 1). This may represent *lamba-keśa* hair-style mentioned in the later work *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[2]

(ii) *Hair dressed in a peacock plume mode over the head*

A male devotee depicted in the panel illustrating *Preaching of Abhidharma in Tushita*[3] offers this type of hairdo. He has dressed his hair in a peacock plume mode projection on the top of the head

(*Fig.* I, 2 & 3). In *Fig.* 3, the back view of the hair-style can been seen. This hair-style is very charming as it resembles a peacock plume, and generally it is found more in the case of females than males in early Indian art. It has been called *barha-bhāra-keśa* by Kālidāsa in his *kāvyas*.

(iii) *Hair arranged in a spherical knot over the head*

King Dhanabhūti depicted in the panel[4] illustrating *the worship of Bodhi tree by king Dhanabhūti* appears with this type of hairdo. He has dressed his hair into a spherical knot on the left side of his head (*Fig.* I, 4). More details cannot be made out, since major portion of the head is covered with jewelled turban leaving only the spherical knot of the hair-style extant.

(iv) *Matted hair in receding tiers on the top of the head*

An ascetic depicted in the panel[5] illustrating *Ambachora jātaka* offers this fashion of the hair-style. He has arranged his matted hair in receding tiers on the top of his head (*Fig.* I, 5). This hair-style can be identified as a combination of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes. Another example of this hairdo can be seen in another ascetic depicted in a panel[6] illustrating *Bhisa jātaka*. The hair is arranged in *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined in one (*Fig.* I, 6). Comparable examples of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined in one occur throughout in Indian art. This is so because religion was the guiding factor for the sculptor—whether he worked at Barhut or Sānchī, Amarāvati, Goli, Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa, Mathurā, or at Gandhāra. As a result, the artist's yardstick in the depiction of the sage with matted locks or the monk with a shaven head was uniform and has remained an inevitable appendage in the sculptures. At Barhut,[7] Amarāvati[8] and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[9] the depiction of this coiffure (*jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined) is profuse. It becomes extremely common in Gandhāra art.[10]

FEMALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Hair combed backwards and secured in a roundish bun with a knot close to the head*

A lady listener depicted in the panel[11] illustrating *Mūlapariyāya jātaka* appears with this type of hairdo. She has combed her hair back into a roundish bun with a knot close to the nape (*Fig*. II, 1). Parallel example is met with in another lady listener depicted in the same *jātaka*. In her case the hair is combed back into a roundish bun. The locks of hair are twisted into the spirals close to the ear near the nape (*Fig*. II, 2). In another panel[12] revealing *Dabohapuppaha jātaka*, a lady appears in a slightly different manner. She has combed her hair back into a loop and tied it close to the head (*Fig*. II, 3). That sometimes a scarf or handkerchief was tied to the bun is revealed in the case of a lady depicted in the sculpture[13] illustrating *Maṇikaṇṭha jātaka* (*Fig*. II, 4).

(ii) *Hair looped and knotted loosely*

A lady appears in the sculptures[14] with her hair arranged in a loop and knotted (*Fig*. II, 5). Sometimes, this type of hairdo is further embellished with flower wreaths as seen in the case of a lady worshipper revealed in the panel[15] illustrating *Bodhi tree worship* (*Fig*. II, 6). In other instances such hairdo is covered with a scarf (*Fig*. III, 7). Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* speaks of Ābhīra women who used to cover their hair with such scarfs.

In some cases, the hair-style is further added with a spherical knot over the head (*Fig*. III, 8), as seen in the case of a lady worshipper depicted in the panel[16] illustrating *Bodhi tree worship.*

(iii) *Hair combed back and allowed to sling on the back. The lock of hair fell on the back is further plaited*

This type of hairdo is seen with a lady musician depicted in the panel[17] illustrating *employment of nymphs by Māra to tempt the Buddha.* She has arranged the hair to fall back, and divided it further in two

plaits (*Fig*. III, 9). Sometimes, the hair thus hung are divided into four plaits as seen in the female depicted in the same panel[18] (*Fig*. III, 10). This hairdo is very much akin to the Iranian hair-style.

(iv) *Jaṭābhāra and śikhaṇḍa modes combined*

A female attendant depicted in the sculpture[19] revealing *Māyā Devī's dream*, exhibits this kind of hair-style. She has combed her hair back into an egg-shaped ball (*Fig*. III, 11). This is a typical hair-style where *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combine. Generally, such hair-style is seen in sages or ascetics. However, in early Indian art, sometimes female attendants, *tapasvinis* etc., also do appear with this type of hairdo. This is a common hair-style in early Indian art.

II. SANCHI

MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Curly hair*

This is generally seen in men (*Fig*. IV, 1 to 4). Sometimes, as seen in the illustration (*Fig*. V, 5), a fillet is tied to the hair with a loop knot at the side. The curly hair could have been the result of the Greeco-Roman influence before the Christian era. Similarly, the head band is rarely seen in the early Indian art. It becomes popular only in the Gupta period. Thus, its presence at Sānchī becomes very interesting. The antiquity of the forehead bands can be traced in the classical world. The ancient Greeks used to wear bands of silk or leather or thin sheet of metal. They were used for supporting the metal plaque called *Stephane*.[20]

Evidently, these bands served to keep the curly hairs unruffled. It would not be therefore illogical to presume that the Greeco-Romans were responsible for the introduction of this toilet article into India. However, during the 4th-6th centuries A.D. in Gupta period this type of fastening was quite popular. It is well known that the Indians preferred to use silken bands (*vālapāśya*) or bands of thin sheet of metal (*patrapāśya*).[21]

In one instance an antelope rider is shown with his curlish hair in such a way as to allow it to fall on the forehead as shown in the illustrations (*Fig.* IV, 6). This is typically non-Indian and heralds the hair-styles seen among the noblemen of the Imperial Roman court.[22] Even in earlier times, the Greeks combed their hair in similar fashion.[23]

In India, traces of such hair-styles are available in Gandhāra art which strengthens the belief that India got this fashion of hair from the Greeks. As such, the persons who appear at Sānchī with such a hair-style could have been either Greeks or Romans. However, this fashion of hair-style did not find favour in India as is evident from its total absence throughout the Indian art.

A male musician also appears in this hair-style. But in his case although the hair is not curly, the hair-style is similar. He has combed his hair tight and let it fall on the forehead (*Fig.* V, 7). In another instance, a male musician is shown with his hair combed sidewards and at the back as the front portion is all bald (*Fig.* V, 8).

Another hair-style consisted of collecting the mass of hair on the right, twisting it into a loop-knot. A portion of the hair is also allowed to fall on the forehead as is seen in the above example (*Fig.* IV, 9).

(ii) *Long hair combed back from the forehead and allowed to dangle on the nape*

In this case a male carrying *kāvadi* (*pingo*) is shown with long hair combed back allowing it to sling on the nape (*Fig.* IV, 10). This is a common hair-style generally found in the middle class. Thus, a groom is also found having a similar hair-style (*Fig.* IV, 11). At times, even sages adopted this kind of coiffure (*Fig.* IV, 12). The matted locks (*jaṭās*) were allowed to sling on the nape. A slight deviation can be seen in this hair-style in a *vyāla*-rider and a *yaksha*, where they have combed back their hair and gathered into a vertically projecting or roundish bunch at the back (*Fig.* V, 13; *Fig.* IV, 14). At Amarāvati and Ajanta, it was quite common hair-style among the women but at Sānchī, illustrations point out its usage by men also.

(iii) *Long hair combed back from the forehead into the upwards twisted curls*

Sometimes, men combed back their hair from the forehead and terminated them in upwards twisted curls (*Fig*. IV, 15). Such type of hair-style is often met with at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the case of kings and members of royalty.

(iv) *Śikhaṇḍa type coiffure* (*Fig*. V, 16; *Fig*. IV, 17)

A few of the males in the Sānchī reliefs appear with this type of hair-style. They have dressed their hair into an egg-shaped ball (*śikhaṇḍa*). Generally, this kind of coiffure is seen in case of the children. A slight deviation from this hair-style can be seen with a male worshipper, where he has gathered his hair upwards into a conical shape and allowed some locks of hair to form into an elongated bunch on the left side (*Fig*. V, 18). This is evidently a different form of *śikhaṇḍa* type of coiffure. Another variety is also seen where some men have gathered their hair into a broad tuft. The tuft is truncated as opposed to the *śikhaṇḍa* type of hair-style met with in the Sānchī reliefs where it is exclusively egg-shaped. In the present case, a fillet is also fastened around the tuft to keep it tight (*Fig*. V, 19).

(v) *Jaṭābhāra and śikhaṇḍa modes combined* (*Fig*. IV, 20)

Generally, ascetics are seen in the relief with their matted locks (*jaṭās*) rolled up and secured in an egg-shaped ball. This coiffure is thus a combined mode of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* style. Comparable examples of this coiffure occur throughout Indian art. In Gandhāra art, its depiction is extremely prolific. At Barhut, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the depiction of this coiffure is similarly prolific.

(vi) *Hair gathered upwards into conical shape*

This hair-style appears to be the monopoly of the sages and worshippers. The coiffure in this case consists of a mass of hair combed

upward, forming into a conical shape. This hair-style differs from *śikhaṇḍa* (*Fig*. V, 21 and 22).

(vii) *Peacock plume hair-style*

This hair-style comprising of fan-shaped projection on the top of the head is also seen in Sānchī specimens. This hair-style is very charming and is favoured more by females than males (*Fig*. V, 23).

FEMALE HAIR STYLES

The women depicted in Sānchī reliefs in no way lagged behind in exhibiting their variety of hair-styles. But as these women mostly appear in the reliefs with head-dress, little scope is left for the study of their coiffures. However, the available instances are adequate to visualise the skill exercised by them in arranging their hair in various fashions.

(i) *Long hair combed back with keśavīthi and allowed to fall on the shoulders*

A female worshipper in the relief exhibits this kind of hair-style. She has just combed her hair and allowed it to dangle on her shoulder at the back. She has clearly parted the hair and the *sīmanta* or *keśavīthi* is quite extant[24] (*Fig*. VI, 1). A slight deviation from this can be seen in another female worshipper where she has maintained her hair-style almost similar to the above one but without *keśavīthi*[25] (*Fig*. VI, 2). In this case, however, an attempt to plait the hair on the back has also been made.

(ii) *Hair combed sidewards and secured in a roundish bun with knot close to the nape* (*Fig*. VI, 3).

This fashion of hairdo is mostly seen in early Indian art. In fact, the introduction of such roundish bun seems to have been made as early as in 1st century B.C. when it was extremely common in Greece and Rome. This hair-style can be identified as *keśapāśa*. In another

instance, an amorous lady appears in the reliefs in a similar hair-style, but with slight difference. In her case, the roundish bun is very prominent and the hair is parted in the middle as opposed to the one described above[26] (*Fig*. V, 2).

In yet another instance[27] a lady elephant-rider appears with a prominent bun. In her case, it is curly hair combed back and terminated into a prominent roundish bun. But as seen in *Fig*. VI, 4, no parting line can be traced (*Fig*. VI, 5).

(iii) *Hair in the peacock plume mode* (*Fig*. VI, 6)

A female worshipper in the reliefs appears with this type of hair-style. She has dressed her hair in an exquisite fashion on the top of her head.[28] It is also tied with a fillet. Further, the hair is plaited on either side. This hair-style can very well be compared with peacock plume mode.

(iv) *Hair dressed in fan-shape tiaras* (*Fig*. VI, 7)

A lady appears in the relief with her hair arranged in an exquisite fan-shaped projection in tiaras over the head. The hair is combed back from the forehead and arranged in high triple chignon bound round by a beaded wreath. This hair-style appears to be a rare one and a parallel example of this can be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. However, it becomes common only in later Gupta period.

(v) *The hair plaited and allowed to sling down from the nape* (*Fig* .VI, 8)

The plaited hair is very short as compared to the *praveṇī* hair-style. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Sānchī reliefs do not depict anywhere the *praveṇī* hair-style which is very common in Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The absence of this hair-style and the presence of bun at Sānchī seems to be due to the fact that the *praveṇī* was not favoured by the people of that region and they preferred the bun in its place. In another instance[29] this type of hair-

style is elaborately adorned with flower wreath[30] (*Fig*. VI, 9). In this case, the hair is plaited from the nape and allowed to dangle but the tail end of the hair is left unplaited. A deviation from this hairdo can be seen in a female attendant whose hair is combed back and arranged in two plaits.[31] This resembles the Iranian hair-style (*Fig*. VI, 10).

(vi) *Coiffure of Śikhaṇḍa type* (*Fig*. VI, 11)

A female of the *mithuna* couple appears with this type of hair-style. She has arranged her hair by combing it back and raising a broad tuft over the head. The tuft is tied with flower wreath in order to secure it tight. The *keśavīthi* in this case is also prominent. This hair-style can be compared with *Śikhaṇḍa* type, although the tuft is broad and truncated.

(vii) *Hair combed back without parting line and terminating into a tuft at the back of the head and a loop-shaped locks tucked into it*

A lady flute player[32] appears in this type of coiffure. She has combed her hair back of the head. A few locks of hair are arranged to form into a loop for tucking into tuft. This is a new hairdo which survives even today (*Fig*. VI, 12).

III. AMARAVATI

The Amarāvati sculptures reveal variety of hair-styles known to the Sātavāhana period. Both men and women appear in the reliefs with different kinds of hairdo, exhibiting the skill and care bostowed by them in the matter of hair-dressing. The women, as usual, excelled men in decorating their hair.

MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Curly hair with wig-like appearance*

A male[33] has arranged his hair short and curly which gives an

arranged her hair into a bun on the left side (*Fig.* VIII, 3). However, the parting line can be made out.

This hair-style, combed back hair with or without *sīmanta* and secured in a roundish bun or bunch, may be identified as the *keśapāśa* style. In early Indian art, this hair-style occurs frequently. The sculptures of Barhut, Sānchī, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathurā and Gandhāra depict several women in this type of hairdo. However, the adoption of bun as a coiffure appears to be a foreign introduction. At Sānchī, it appears for the first time on the *toraṇas*, in the first century B.C.[49] The bun which makes its appearance at Gandhāra is evidently of Hellenistic origin. The Greek and Roman women showed great aptitude in combing their hair into a bun.[50] This coiffure is common at Amarāvati[51] in the early centuries of the Christian era. It continued to enjoy its popularity at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[52] This coiffure is again present in the Mathurā[53] art and reached the zenith of its popularity in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period.[54]

(ii) *Keśapāśa with loose knot*

At times, the hair was combed back and tied into loose knot forming into a loop. A female attendant depicted in the panel illustrating *King Ajātaśatru and his women visiting Buddha*[55] offers this type of hairdo (*Fig.* IX, 4). The *keśavithi* in this case is clearly visible. She has adorned hair with a brooch.

A female worshipper depicted in the panel illustrating *Bodhisattva worship*[56] offers an interesting *keśapāśa* hair-style. She has combed back her hair terminating into loops. Loose knot is tied at the end. Further, the hair is decorated with a frontal jewel suspended probably by means of chain (*Fig.* IX, 5). This can be *juṭikābharaṇa*, mentioned by Bāṇa. A parallel example can be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[57] Yet in another panel,[58] depicting the scene of *Māyā Devī's dream*. this type of hair-style is again seen but slightly in a different manner. A female drum player is shown with a *keśapāśa* hair-style arranged elaborately. In this case, her hair is combed back in tiaras into a loose knot. She has allowed lock of hair dangling on the back from the nape (*Fig.* IX, 6). This hairdo is very charming. Yet another *keśapāśa* hair-style in

different manner can be seen in the case of a female attendant depicted in the panel illustrating *Māndhātu jātaka.*[59] In her case, the *keśapāśa* does not reveal any tiaras. The hair is arranged simply into a bun in loop form at the nape with one end of the lock tucked over the head (*Fig*. VIII, 7).

Thus, the *keśapāśa*[60] is a charming mode of arranging the hair. As seen above, sometimes it is bound with the loop close to the head[61] and occasionally it is a loose knot with the loop away from the nape. Generally, the *keśapāśa* is decked with flower wreaths.[62]

In other instances, the hair is simply combed back and rolled up at the occiput as seen in the case of a female attendant (*Fig*. IX, 8) depicted in the panel illustrating *Nanda and his beautiful wife.*[63] In her case also, the hair is adorned with frontal jewel (*jūṭikābharaṇa*).

(iii) *Coiffure comprising hair with or without plaiting and allowed to hang down almost to the hips*

A *vīṇā* player depicited in the panel illustrating *Nanda and his beautiful wife*[64] offers an excellent example of *praveṇī*. Her hair is braided into a long strip and allowed to dangle on the back. The braided hair terminates in tassel (*guccha*). It is further ornamented with gold cap presumably studded with gems (*padataditaka*, p. 39, (*Fig*. VIII, 9). The modern *jaḍa-guccas* (*jaṭā gucchas*) are no different from them. Again, *prāsādikas*, depicted in the panel revealing the *night before renunciation*,[65] offer similar type of hair-style (*Fig*. 10). Sometimes, the coiffure[66] is further embellished with a diadem and a flower ornament presumably of gold (*nāgara* type) on the occiput (*Fig*. VIII, 11, 12: *Fig*. IX, 13). Sometimes, the *praveṇī* hair-style is braided into two plaits leaving no tassels as seen in the case of a female attendant depicted in the panel revealing *Māndhātu jātaka*[67] (*Fig*. IX, 14).

This coiffure, with or without plaited hair, allowed to dangle on the back with the jewel strips running all along but not above it, represents the *praveṇī* type of hairdo. This probably inspired Kālidāsa to compare it to the beautiful dark stream of river Yamunā dotted with golden flamingoes fluttering on its surface in a continuous streak, suggestive of the Mother Earth arranged with the golden strips.[68]

In early Indian art, the *praveṇī* style appears frequently indicating its popularity. It is quite interesting to see that *praveṇī* is almost absent in Gandhāra art. Again, the occassional depiction of *praveṇī* at Ajanta clearly shows its lesser adoption by the people of the later Vākāṭaka-Gupta period.

(iv) *Hair (plaited or otherwise) allowed to fall on the back from the rear end of sīmanta or keśavīthi*

This coiffure differs from *praveṇī* in having the hair sling down from the rear end of *sīmanta* instead of from the occiput as seen in the case of *praveṇī*. Except for this difference, this hair-style is similar to the *praveṇī* style. A fine example of this coiffure can be seen in lady attendant depicted in the panel[69] revealing *night before renunciation* (*Fig*. IX, 15) and in Māyā Devī depicted in the scene illustrating *Māyā Devi's dream* (*Fig*. VIII, 16).

This coiffure, which is the variant of the *praveṇī* style, resembles the pony-tail[70] which is arranged by modern women in many parts of India. The parallel examples of this coiffure are available in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[71] in the caves of Kārli,[72] Mathurā[73] and in the paintings of Ajanta.[74]

(v) *Hair combed back and knotted at the rear with two locks of hair dangling on both the shoulders*

In the panel depicting the *relic casket worship*, a female attendant is shown with this type of hairdo. She has arranged her hair combing it back and knotted it at the rear end. Two locks of hair are allowed to dangle on both shoulders as shown in the illustration (*Fig*. IX, 17).

(vi) *Coiffure of the śikhaṇḍa type*

This hair-style, though generally associated with children, was also adopted by the elders. A fine example of this is seen in a female attendant depicted in the panel illustrating *the child presented to the tutelary yakshas of the Śākyas*. She is shown with *śikhaṇḍa* type of

hair-style. The ball is decorated with flower wreath (*Fig*. VIII, 18). Comparable examples of this hairdo occur at Barhut, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Gandhāra art.[75]

(vii) *Dhammilla hair-style*

The Amarāvati sculptor has immortalised this fashion of hair-style.[76] This mode of hair dressing was greatly admired during the Sātavāhana period. The hair-style was meant to excite passion in the lover's heart.[77] The pearl bedecked hair often described by Kālidāsa is of *dhammilla* form.[78]

IV. GANDHARA[79]

MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Long hair*

Kings, as can be seen from the sculptures, arranged their hair very neatly even though a good portion of their hair was covered with their head-dress. As their head-dresses slip to the side or worn aslant, a part of their hair is seen disclosing the mode of their hairdo. The kings Śibī and Śuddhodana, depicted in the panels,[80] appear with their hair neatly combed so as to facilitate neat wearing of the head-dress. In the sculptures, the neatly combed long hair on the nape and sideways can be seen distinctly.

(ii) *Curly hair with wig-like appearance*

Among gods Indra appears in the reliefs with different types of hair-styles.[81] Invariably, he is shown with curly hair which has the appearance of a wig (*Fig*. X, 1). It is a noteworthy feature that curly hair is characteristic of the Gandhāra art, while it is rare or almost absent in other schools of early Indian art. It is a common hair-style among the Hellenistic Greeks and Romans and, evidently, this hair-style could have been introduced into the Gandhāra by the Greeks in the 4th century B.C.

(iii) *Long hair combed from the forehead either backwards or sideward*

At one place, Indra has combed his long hair back from the forehead[82] (*Fig.* X, 2). Sometimes,[83] he is sculptured with a different type of hair-style, having his long hair combed sideways and allowing it to dangle on his nape (*Fig.* X, 3). In all these cases, Indra appears with a thick beard which is the characteristic feature of the Gandhāra art.

In one panel,[84] it is again *Brahmā* that is shown with his hair dressed by combing it back from his forehead (*Fig.* X, 4).

(iv) *Long hair with bow-knot on the top of the head*

In some other case Indra has dressed his long hair with a bow-knot on the top of the head and with side locks[85] (*Fig.* X, 5). The river dieties depicted in the panels, however, exhibit different type of hair-style. They have combed their hair sideways from the forehead forming a knot at the front side[86] (*Fig.* X, 6). This is, evidently, a foreign hair-style of Greek origin.

(v) *Śikhaṇḍa*

Prince Siddhārtha appears in the panel with the hair dressed in an egg-shaped ball[87] (*Fig.* X, 7). This type of coiffure can be identified as *Śikhaṇḍa* type which occurs also at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The school boys appear in the sculptures with their hair gathered in a top knot.[88] Sometimes, their curled locks fall on the forehead. In some other cases, the top knot is seen at the front instead of being at the top of the crown (*Fig.* X, 8). The coiffure is quite non-Indian and appears to be of Greek origin. Interestingly, the dress worn by these boys also betrays Hellenistic affinity.

It is significant to note that in Athens down to the Persian ways, the boys wore long hair and fastened them up into a knot (*krobylos*) by a needle. In later times, however, the Athenian boys had their hair cut when they became *ephebi* and dedicated to their deity, generally *Appollo*, or the gods of their rivers or the nymphs who were regarded

the protectresses of youth.[89] Similar religious belief is attached in the case of Indian boys even to this day. The long hair of the boys is cut at a ceremony called *muṇḍan*. Hence, the boys are generally depicted with long hair commonly dressed in the manner described above.

(iv) *Jaṭābhāra and śikhaṇḍa modes combined*

Generally, ascetics are seen in the reliefs with their matted locks (*jaṭā*) rolled up and secured in an egg-shaped ball. This coiffure is the combined mode of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa*. The sages revealed in the sculptures[90] appear in this kind of hairdo (*Fig*. XI, 9). However, its extreme popularity at Gandhāra is noteworthy.

(vii) *Clean shaven head*

The Buddhist monks are seen in the reliefs with clean shaven heads[91] without any exception.

The Buddha has his hair represented in two ways in the reliefs. His hair is shown either with wavy lines and a protuberance (*ushṇīsha*) or with a hair of ringlets, resembling honeycomb and an *ushṇīsha*. The *ushṇīsha* is either low or high or flat. In one solitary instance this hair-style is devoid of *ushṇīsha* on the top of the crown.[92] At Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the Buddha appears with *ushṇīsha* on his head and with small curls all over the head. At Mathurā he is represented with the single sinistral curl and a *ushṇīsha* on the head.

The Bodhisattva Siddhārtha appears in the sculptures[93] generally with a high *ushṇīsha* and curly tresses flowing down over shoulder (*Fig*. XI, 10). As for the hair-style of Maitreya, the arrangement of the top of head in two loops forming a horizontal figure and resembling bow-knot seems to be the characteristic feature. This bow-knot is secured either in the centre or in the front of the head.[94]

(viii) *Bald head*

An instance of the bald head can be seen in the man illustrated in the panel revealing the *dowger and man with bowl*.[95]

(ix) *Beard and moustache*

The depiction of men with a beard and a moustache is a common feature in the Gandhāra sculptures, while it is rare or almost absent in the other contemporary Indian art. In majority of the cases the men that appeared with beards are Greeks. However, we do have instances of the depiction of Indian sages with beards and moustaches.

It appears that down to the time of Alexander the great, a full beard was regarded a mark of manly dignity.[96] Later, it became fashionable to shave the face quite smooth, and only philosophers grew beard to mark their opposition to the general custom. In ancient times, the Romans also wore long hair and beard. It was not until 300 B.C., when the haircutter (*tonsor*) came to Rome from Sicily, that they began to have both.[97] In the first half of the 2nd century A.D., emperor Hadrian brought full beard into fashion again, which lingered on until Constantine. From the middle of the 2nd century A.D. to the time of Constantine, it was the established custom to cut the hair quite short after the fashion of athletes and stoic philosophers.

An idea of the coiffure adopted by the commoners can be had from the depiction of the musicians, anchorites, attendants, wrestlers, grass-cutters, Brāhmins, soldiers, donors, worshippers, merchants etc. The flute player, a harpist, and a tambourine player, are shown with wig-like coiffures[98] (*Fig.* XI, 11). The anchorites[99] have arranged their hair with curled side-locks and a top knot at the crown (*Fig.* XI, 12). What interests us is that even attendants in some case are depicted with this type of coiffure. Sometimes, attendants combed their long hair sideways allowing it to dangle. The Brāhmin had allowed his curled hair slinging on his shoulders with the raised top knot on the crown[100] (*Fig.* XI, 13). The soldier reveals different kind of hairdo. In one instance,[101] he has simply combed back his hair without any parting line (*keśavīthi*). Invariably, donors appear in the relief with their matted locks rolled up and secured in an egg-shaped ball either right on the top of the crown or at the crown or at the sides near the nape.[102]

A statue of a man from Gai collection,[103] offers an interesting hair-style. He is shown with long curlish hair combed back and also brought forward over the forehead (*Fig.* XI, 14). This hair-dress is

distinctly un-Indian and is of Greek origin. It closely resembles the hair-style of the noblemen of the Imperial Roman court, as is evident from their statues.[104] Still earlier, the Greeks had their hair-style in similar fashion and it is quite evident that they were responsible for the introduction of such hair-style in Gandhāra. Eventually, this coiffure becomes a characteristic feature of later Gandhāra art. However, it does not find favour with the Indians, as is clear from the early Indian art.

FEMALE HAIR STYLES

The women portrayed in the Gandhāra sculptures show a variety of coiffures reflecting their dexterity in the art of hairdo. The coiffures exhibited by them are elegant and fashionable.

(i) *Coiffure comprising hair with or without plait and allowed to dangle*

A fine example of this type of coiffure can be seen in a female deity.[105] Her hair, which is treated like a wig in front is taken back from the forehead. On the top of the head is a low[106] *polos* (*Fig*. XII, 1). Precisely similar hair-style is again seen in the coiffure of another female deity.[107] In this case she has no *polos* but, instead, it is the small circular disc that adorns the top of the head. The hair-style seems to betray Kushāṇo-Indian feature.

In few cases, the ladies depicted in the Gandhāra reliefs have their hair plaited in simple pig-tail allowed to fall on the back[108] (*Fig*. XII, 2) or braided into a loop knot.[109] The pig-tail was often decorated with a net made of pearls and rosettes.

(ii) *Hair simply combed back and allowed to fall on the occiput*

This type of hair-style can be seen in winged *devī*.[110] Her hair on the forehead is confined by *taenia*, behind which it falls backward in long tresses and plaits over the shoulders (*Fig*. XII, 3).

(iii) *Hair gathered into a bundle or a roundish bun*

A lady, depicted in the panel[111] illustrating *presentation of bride to Siddhārtha,* reveals this type of coiffure. She has combed her hair back and secured in a roundish bun on her occiput (*Fig.* XII, 4). Needless to say that her hair-style and the dress worn by her indicate Greek origin. Precisely similar example can also be seen in an amorous lady.[112] Her hair style also terminates in a roundish bun near the occiput (*Fig.* XII, 5). A slightly different type of bun is noticed in the style of a female worshipper depicted in the panel illustrating the starving Bodhisattva.[113] In her case, she has combed her hair back terminating or forming into wide roundish bun close to the top of the head instead of being on the occiput as seen hitherto (*Fig.* XII, 6).

That this type of hair-style was very much favoured by the ladies of Gandhāra region can be known from its frequent sculptural depictions. In the panels, lady musicians and basket-carriers reveal similar type of hair-dress.[114] However, the *yakshiṇis,* seen in the sculptures, adopted this hair-style differently. In her case, the roundish bun is secured on the left side (*Fig.* XIII, 7). Excepting this variation, the hair-style is similar to the one described above.

The bun which makes its appearance at Gandhāra is evidently of Hellenistic origin. The Greek and Roman ladies showed great liking in combing their hair into bun.[115]

(iv) *Hair arrangement in the shape of spiral on the top of the head or in top knot* (*Fig.* XIII, 8)

This hair-style is mostly favoured by the female attendants. Sometimes, goddesses preferred this hair-style as seen in the panel[116] depicting a goddess with shield and spear.

Thus, it can be seen from the frequent sculptural depictions that this coiffure was mostly favoured by the women of the Gandhāra region. The hair-style distinctly betrays the Greek origin, the comparable examples of which are available in the coiffures of the Greek ladies revealed in some of the terracottas. As is evident from the sculptures, the bands of cloth wound round the front of the head to

fasten the hair were often made to support a pointed metal plate *stephane*. Sometimes, hair was worn in nets, *kekry-phalos*, bags, *sakkos* and handkerchiefs, wrapped round it in the shape of cap.[117] The wearing of chaplets seems to have been a universal custom in north-east India.

(v) *Hair with top knot and curled side-locks* (*Fig*. XIII, 9)

In the sculpture, this type of coiffure is seen worn by female deities, daughters of merchants and *kinnaras*.[118] The hair is arranged into top knot on the crown with side-locks.

(vi) *Hair with a top knot and a close or loose knot on the occiput* (*Fig*. XIII, 10)

A solitary example of this type of coiffure occurs in the panel[119] illustrating *Māyā's Dream*. A female attendant holding a vessel offers this fashion of hair-style. Her hair-style is quite interesting. She has arranged her hair in such a way that two knots, one on the top of the head and other on the occiput, are formed. In the whole range of reliefs, this is the only instance where two knots in a hair-style occurs.

(vii) *Hair simply allowed to fall on the forehead*

This hair-style in the female attendant is depicted in the panel illustrating the birth of *Siddhārtha and the seven steps*.[120] She has arranged her hair in such a way that only a lock of hair is allowed to dangle on the forehead, while the remaining portion of the hair is covered by the chaplet. However, this coiffure is quite un-Indian and unmistakably of Greek origin.

(viii) *Hair combed back but having a few locks on the forehead* (*Fig*. XIII, 11)

This hair-style is revealed in the sculpture of *Hāritī*.[121] In her case, the hair is brushed back at the sides, but in the middle of the

forehead there is a cluster of snail-shell curls. Suspended from these curls by means of the thin cord a small rosette appears in the centre of the forehead, and from behind the ears tresses hanging on the shoulders recall those of *Palmyrene* ladies.

V. NAGARJUNAKONDA

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures portray copious hair-styles known to the people of the Ikshvāku period. The coiffures delineated in the sculptures reveal the deep interest of the people of Ikshvāku period in hair dressing.[122]

As the majority of males and females in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa reliefs appear with covered heads, they have not much to convey to us in respect of their coiffures. Nevertheless, an endeavour has been made to collect as much information as possible from the available data so as to have a fair idea of the hair-styles. But it is certain that these people, who showed remarkable taste for variety and fashion as regards their head-dress, could have naturally bestowed the same artistic skill and meticulous attention on the arrangement of the hair.

As the aristocrat and the common man seldom moved about bare-headed, they always kept their hair moderately long so as to be easily covered by the head-dress. They often appear in the reliefs with short and curly hairs. However, it does not mean that the instances of long hair are wanting. The ascetics and mendicants in the reliefs generally appear with the long hair. The common people, it appears, did not give much attention to their hair-dressing. Needless to say that women as usual excelled men in the art of hair-dressing.

MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Short or long hair*

The kings, it appears, were very particular in arranging their hair very neatly even though it was covered with their head-dress as is seen in the reliefs. As a few of their head-dresses have been depicted slipped to the side a part of their hair is seen which discloses the

modes of their hair-styles. King Śibī, Daśaratha, the Nāga king, the king of Benaras and king Māndhātu appear in the sculptures[123] with their neatly combed hair so as to facilitate a neat fit to their head-dress.

(ii) *Curly hair with a wig-like appearance*

In one of the panels,[124] king Māndhātu arranged his hair in a different manner. He is shown as having short and curly hair which gives an appearance of a wig.

(iii) *Long hair with upward twisted curls*

Sometimes kings are seen with long hair which terminated in upward twisted curls (*Fig.* XIV, 1). This hair-style can be best seen in the case of *Cakravartin* depicted in penel[125] illustrating *the Cakravartin and seven jewels.* He is shown with long hair falling on either side of his shoulders which end in upward twisted curls.

Gods represented in the relief appear precisely with similar kind of coiffure. In their case also, the aslant hair-dress has made it possible to know their hair-styles. The gods in some of the sculptures reveal a hair-style of long hair terminating in upward twist and curls. It gives the appearance of a wig as noted earlier. The parallel examples of this fashion of the hair are met with in the sculptures of Amarāvati[126] and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[127] and it is profusely depicted in the Gandhāra art.[128]

Again, this wig-like treatment of the hair appears to have been favoured very much by the dwarfs[129] (*Fig.* XIV, 2 to 4). But two of the dwarfs that occur on the inscribed slab have short bushy hair.

(iv) *Peacock plume mode* (*barha-bhāra-keśa*)

Interestingly, in some of the sculptures gods have their hair dressed in a fan-shaped projection on top of their heads. Sometimes, this projection can also be seen in the middle of the head or on the right side of the head[130] (*Fig.* XIV, 5). This hair-style is very charming, resembling peacock plumes and is found more frequently in the case of females than males.

(v) *Hair arranged with a bow-knot on the top of the head*

Sometimes, males have arranged their hair with a bow-knot on the top of the head. The bow-knot is seen either on the top of the head or slightly on the left side of the head (*Fig.* XIV, 6 & 7).

(vi) *Hair dressed into an egg-shaped ball (śikhaṇḍa)*

The bas-relief invariably presents princes with the hair dressed into an egg-shaped ball[131] (*Fig.* XIV, 8; *Fig.* XV, 13). This type of coiffure can be identified as the *śikhaṇḍa* which gets its citation in vedic literature. Comparable examples of *śikhaṇḍa* occur at Amarāvati and in the Gandhāra art.[132] However, this coiffure is usually associated with children.

At times, dwarfs adopted the *śikhaṇḍa* type of coiffure by gathering their hair into an egg-shaped ball on the top of their head.[133]

The princes, at times, also had short hair as can be known from the panel illustrating *the admission of the six Śākya princes and the barber Upāli to the Order*. The three Śākya princes reveal a coiffure comprising a short curl that gives the appearance of a wig.[134]

Apparently, the curly hair could have been introduced at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa through the Roman or Scythian contact during 2nd-3rd century A.D.

(vii) *Jaṭābhāra and śikhaṇḍa styles combined*

Generally, ascetics of both the sexes are seen in the reliefs with their matted locks (*jaṭā*) rolled up and secured in an egg-shaped ball (*Fig.* XIV, 9; *Fig.* XV, 12). This coiffure is the combined mode of the *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* styles. Again, as many as five ascetics occur in one panel[135] having the combined coiffure of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes. One has gathered the matted hair in a large ball above the ear, the end being taken through and left dangling over the ear (*Fig.* XV, 10); another, sitting near him, has gathered the braided hair into a crescent-shaped ball on the crown (*Fig.* XV, 11). The sage depicted in the panel[136] illustrating the *Campeyya jātaka* has arranged

his matted hair in receding tiers on the top of the head (*Fig*. XIV, 9).

(viii) *Clean shaven head*

The Buddhist monks are generally seen in the reliefs with clean shaven heads. The Buddha's hair are presented in two ways in the reliefs. In one sculpture,[137] he is shown with a single sinistral curl or a line above the forehead. But in a majority of cases, the Buddha appears with a protuberance on his head and having small curls all over it.[138] This hair-style of the Buddha can also be seen in the sculptures of Amarāvatī.

The common people always tried, as seen in the sculptures, to imitate the fashions of the higher in the society, but probably they were naturally not well off to equal the rich. An idea of the coiffures adopted by the commoners can be known from the depictions of the astrologers, musicians, male attendants, soldiers, standard-bearers etc., in the reliefs. The astrologer is shown bald on the crown but has a short curly hair on the sides.[139] The ministerial *pañcha-śikhā* appears in the reliefs with short hair combed backwards.[140]

In *Campeyya jātaka*, a snake charmer is shown with a wig-like coiffure. Sometimes, male attendants reveal still a different variety of hair-style.[141] They are shown with curlish hair combed and brought forward over the head (*Fig*. XV, 14 and 15). This type of hair dressing is indeed very interesting and appears to be foreign. It imitates the known hair-style of the nobles in the Imperial Roman Court, as is evident from their statues.[142] Still earlier, the Greeks also used to comb their hair in a similar fashion[143] It is probable that they were responsible for the introduction of such a style in India. However, as the early Indian art shows, it did not find favour with the Indians.

As can be seen from the sculptures, the wig-like treatment of hair appears to have been mostly favoured by the commoners. This coiffure was so popular that even some of the soldiers depicted in the reliefs are found having this hair-style. What interests us is that even the Brāhmins in some instances are depicted with this type of coiffure. That the men from village arranged their hair in an egg-shaped ball over their head (*śikhaṇḍa*) can be known from the panel illustrating a village scene.[144]

FEMALE HAIR STYLES

As the women also appear in the reliefs mostly with head-dress, little scope is left for the study of their coiffures. However, the available instances are sufficient to realise the skill exercised by the women of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in arranging their hair in various modes or fashions. The bas-reliefs reveal various patterns of coiffures which are as under.

(i) *Hair combed backwards and secured in a roundish bun with a knot close to the head*

This fashion of hairdo is mostly seen depicted in *chāmara dhāriṇis* or female attendants and occasionally in the ladies in amorous postures. Some of the *chāmara dhāriṇis* in the sculptures[145] have their hair combed back and arranged in a ball shape with knot close to the nape (*Fig*. XVI, 1 and 2). They have secured the bunch with a fillet. At times they are seen with their hair parted in the middle and secured in a bunch either on the left or on the right side of the head. Occasionally female attendants[146] are seen to have arranged their hair in an elongated bunch near the occiput as seen hitherto. The hair is further secured by a fillet.

The female attendant depicted on an inscribed pillar[147] wears this coiffure in another way. She has combed back her hair and secured it in a roundish bun. The *smanta* (hair parting) in this case is absent (*Fig*. XVI, 3 and 4).

The coiffure of a woman depicted on a golden medallion,[148] however, shows the hair-style adopted by a foreigner. Her hair is parted in the middle and secured into a loop or bunch with a fillet tied around it (*Fig*. XVI, 5). The noteworthy feature is that the woman having non-Indian features has coiffure similar to those described above.

This hair-style, combed back hair with or without *sīmanta* and secured in a roundish bun or bunch, may be identified as the *keśapāśa* style. The sculptures of Barhut,[149] Amarāvati,[150] Mathurā,[151] Gandhāra[152] depict several women with this type of hairdo.

(ii) *Keśapāśa with loose knot*

Sometimes, the hair was combed back and tied into loose knot forming a loop. An amorous lady[173] is shown with this type of hair-style (*Fig.* XVI, 6). The parallel examples of this type of coiffures are not wanting in early Indian art. The sculptures of Barhut, Amarāvati, Gandhāra reveal many a woman in *keśapāśas* with loose knots.

(iii) *Coiffures comprising hair with or without plaiting and allowed to hang down almost to the hips*

This type of coiffure appears to have been most favoured by the people of the Ikshvāku period, as it is evident from their frequent sculptural depictions. The amorous ladies, *nāginis*, queens, female attendants etc., invariably appear in the reliefs with this kind of hair-style. An excellent example of this can be seen in an amorous lady illustrated on a *chaitya* slab.[174] Her hair is parted in the middle and braided into a long strip and allowed to dangle on the back. The braided hair terminates in tassels (*gucchas*). Flowers adorn the braided strip all along. The coiffure is further embellished with a diadem and flower ornament or a boss presumably of gold (*nāgara type*) on the occiput (*Fig.* XVI, 7). A clear example of this coiffure is revealed in the case of queen *Māyā*.[175] A thin transparent piece of cloth or a net covers her hair. A fillet terminating at the ear on either side is tied to secure the covering cloth. A broad band of plaited hair is seen allowed to fall on the back. This is ornamented with gems or other precious pieces all along its length. The braided hair ends in tassels which are provided with caps, probably of gold (*Fig.* XVI, 8). The noteworthy feature of this example is the use of the net (*jāla*) for the hair. The female attendants favoured this coiffure which is evident from the frequent depictions[176] (*Fig.* XVII, 9). Their braided hair is often seen ornamented with gems and tagged with tassels. As usual, the ornamental boss decorated the occiput.

This coiffure, with or without plaited hair, allowed to dangle on the back with the jewel strips running all along but not above it, may probably represent the *praveṇī* type of hairdo.

(iv) *Hair (plaited or otherwise) allowed to fall on the back from the rear end of sīmanta or keśavīthi*

This coiffure differs from *praveṇī*; in it the hair hangs down from the rear end of *sīmanta* instead of from the occiput as is seen in the case of *praveṇī*. But for this difference, this hair-style is similar to the *praveṇī* style. This fashion of the hair-style is generally seen in the reliefs exhibited by the women of high class society such as queens, princesses, ladies in love and ladies performing *dohada*. The female attendants rarely appear with this type of coiffure and they do not seem to have adopted this hair-style so much as they did the *praveṇī*. A fine example of this coiffure can be seen with the river goddess depicted in the panel illustrating *the gift of earth*.[157] The hair is tressed and allowed to fall on the back from the rear end of *sīmanta*. The tressed hair is seen ornamented with a jewelled strip all along (*Fig*. XVII, 10). It is, however, the queens who appear to have favoured this coiffure more.

This coiffure which can be classified as a variant of the *praveṇī* style resembles the 'pony-tail', common amongst women today in many parts of India.

(v) *Curled hair*

The curly hair-style occurs frequently in the reliefs. In fact, such hair has been immortalised by the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The sinuous flow of the hair, the *cikuras* or *bramarakas* (small ringlets near the forehead), can best be seen in the case of the female attendants depicted in the relief.[158]

(vi) *Simple and unplaited hair grouped into a bundle*

This type of hairdo is represented by the female attendant Upasāgara in the panel[159] illustrating *Ghaṭa jātaka*. Her hair is seen bundled over the head in a fan-shaped arrangement (*Fig*. XVII, 11). A flower ornament or boss, presumably of gold, decorates the hair. In another instance,[160] a lady is shown gathering her hair into a bundle on one side of the head (*Fig*. XVII, 12). This hair-style can be

identified as the *keśapāśa* type. Somewhat parallel examples can be seen in Sātavāhana and Gandhāra art.[161]

(vii) *Simple hair rolled up and devoid of any loop*

This coiffure differs from the *keśapāśa* for being without the loop. It is mostly seen on the female attendants (*Fig.* XVII, 13). Again, an amorous lady[162] has rolled up her hair and a wreath adorns it. Such flower wreaths, adorning this type of coiffure, are very often mentioned in literature,[163] and this hair-style can be identified as the *kabarībandha* style. The sculptures of Barhut, Amarāvati and the Gandhāra depict this hair-style.

(viii) *Hair dressed in fan-shaped tiaras*

This kind of hair-style is found in the case of an amorous lady.[164] She has arranged her hair in an exquisite fan-shaped projection in tiaras over the head. This arrangement of the hair appears to be less favoured by the people of the Ikshvāku period as is evident from its scanty sculptural depiction at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*Fig.* XVII, 14).

(ix) *Hair in the peacock plume mode*

A fine example of this can be seen with female attendant depicted in the panel illustrating *the transport of the relics*. As already stated, this coiffure is fairly common in the early period.

(x) *Coiffure of the śikhaṇḍa type*

This hair-style, though generally associated with children, was also adopted by the elders. It is seen in the reliefs associated with the female attendants, princesses and amorous ladies. Sometimes, this coiffure consists of two egg-shaped balls arranged over the head as is evident from the depiction of an amorous lady and a nymph. The balls in the coiffures are richly decorated with flower wreaths. Comparable examples of the *śikhaṇḍa* hair-style occur at Barhut, Amarāvati and in the Gandhāra art.[165]

(xi) *Jaṭābhāra and śikhaṇḍa modes combined*

A fine example of this kind of hair-style can be seen in the lady,[166] probably *tapasvini*, getting into the fire from the ladder. She is shown with her matted locks rolled up and secured into an egg-shapped ball. The *śikhaṇḍa* is fromed by tying it with an ornamental band (*Fig.* XVII, 15). Thus, an example of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined to form a new style is seen in her coiffure. The sculptures of Barhut, Amarāvati, Goli, Kandagiri, Udayagiri and Mathurā reveal this hairdo at several places.[167]

(xii) *Plain long hair with a parting or sīmanta or keśavīthi*

The parting of the hair in the middle was very common in the Ikshvāku period. The women took great care in executing the *sīmanta* in their hairdo. The long hair was usually combed horizontally on either side of the dividing line (*Fig.* XVII, 16). It appears that only the ladies separated from their lovers kept their hair loose and undressed. Kālidāsa refers to this hair-style as *lambālaka*.[168] Parallel examples of this are plenty in Indian art.

(xiii) *Undressed hair*

The instances of undressed hair occur in the reliefs more than once. In the panel illustrating the *subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri*[169] a lady with the dishevelled hair is shown running in panic as the ferocious elephant *Nalagiri* heads towards the Buddha. Again, the village women depicted in the panel illustrating *a village scene*[170] also appear with undressed hair. They have either allowed their hair just to fall-back on the shoulder without even combing a parting line on the middle or have just secured the hair into a bunch on the occiput. In this case, a rough parting line, presumably made by hand, can be seen. The undressed hair of the village women, probably, indicates their poor status and partly their negligence in hair dressing.

The treatment of the hair or hair dressing required a regular procedure. According to the *Milindapañha*,[171] it included first sham-

pooing (*dhovana*) followed by the tying of ribbon (*bandhana*), combing (*kocca*) and then the hair dressing (*kappaka*). This was done in front of a pure mirror (*ādarśa maṇḍala*)[172] An excellent example of a *prāsādikā*, dressing the hair of her mistress, occurs on sculptural fragment[173] at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. In this, the mistress is shown with a mirror held in her hand. She is actually looking in the mirror while her *prāsādikā* is engagad in combing the hair with *kocca*. Such depictions of hair dressing are very common in the sculptures of Amarāvati and Mathurā.

VI. MATHURA

The hair-styles represented in Mathurā sculptures of the Kushāṇa period are varied and reflect profusely on the meticulous care the people of the period took in dressing their hair.

MALE HAIR-STYLES

(i) *Hair simply combed back without any parting line*

A male depicted in a Mathurā sculpture[174] has simply combed back his hair without making any parting line on the head (*Fig*. XVIII, 1).

(ii) *Hair simply combed back with a knot on the forehead*

This interesting hair-style is seen with a male worshipper.[175] He has combed his hair back without any parting line, as seen in the above case, but with slight deviation. In this case, he has formed a knot of the locks on the forehead (*Fig*. XVIII, 2).

(iii) *Hair combed upwards and converging them on the forehead*

A male offers this type of hairdo.[176] The hair-style is quite interesting. He has combed his mass of hair upwards as shown in the illustration and converged them on the forehead (*Fig*. XVIII, 3).

(iv) *Curly hair*

A male appears in a sculpture[177] with his curly ringlets combed back (*Fig.* XVIII, 4).

(v) *Curly hair with protruded knot on the forehead*

This interesting hair-style occurs in the case of a male[178] depicted in the Mathurā sculpture. His curly hair has a protruded knot on the forehead (*Fig.* XVIII, 5).

In early Indian art, as pointed out earlier, the curly hair is rare or absent. It is quite likely that the curly hair could have been the introduction of the foreigners into India in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the Hellenistic and Roman world, the curly hair was very popular and its impact can very well be seen at Gandhāra and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Similarly, the presence of curly hair at Mathurā could have been due to the Kushāṇas. Later, in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period the curly hair became very popular.

(vi) *Matted hair twisted in receding tiers on the top of the head*

Usually, this hair-style is seen with ascetics or sages of India. A sage depicted in the Mathurā sculpture[179] offers this type of hairdo. He has twisted his matted hair in receding tiers on the top of his head (*Fig.* XVIII, 6). This hair-style evidently represents *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa*.

FAMALE HAIR-STYLES

(i) *Simple hair with a parting line* (*sīmanta or keśavīthi*)

The hairdo is very simple without any elaborations. A lady dancer[180] depicted in the sculptures offers the fashion of the hair-style. She has simply combed her hair with a parting line (*sīmanta*), in the middle (*Fig.* XIX, 1). Again, a female worshipper[181] appears with this type of hairdo but with slight deviation. She has also combed her hair

in the similar manner but with the parting line slightly on the right side of the head instead of in the middle (*Fig*. XIX, 2).

(ii) *Long hair with protruded knot on the forehead*

A dancing girl depicted on a railing pillar[182] exhibits this fashion of the hair-style. She has combed her long hair back without any parting line and allowed to dangle. A protruded knot of the hair on the forehead is clearly visible (*Fig*. XIX, 3). This long hair may represent *lambālaka*, the parallel example of which is available in Ajanta paintings. Again, another lady[183] depicted in the sculpture offers similar kind of hairdo. She has also combed hair with a round knot on the forehead. A *jūṭikābharaṇa* suspended by means of pearl string adorns the hair (*Fig*. XIX, 4). In this case also there is a parting line.

(iii) *Hair combed into a roundish bun with close knot on the back of the head*

An excellent example of this hair-style is seen in a damsel[184] illustrated in the sculptures. She has dressed her hair into a roundish bun with a close knot on the back of the head. Probably, a pearl string is tied round the bun to keep the bun tight (*Fig*. XIX, 5). This represents the *keśapāśa* hair-style. The introduction of the bun at Mathurā could have been the work of the Kushāṇas. It appears in profusion at Sānchī in the 1st century B.C. The style of dressing the hair into a bun was in practice in India as early as in Harappan times. In Harappa, a priest is shown with a similar bun tied with a fillet.[185] But it does not occur in Mauryan period. It is well known that the same style was very popular among Greeks and Romans even before the Christian era.[186] It is also noticed at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa as well as at Mathurā and Ajanta.

(iv) *Hair tied into double bun*

A damsel is seen with her hair dressed in tiaras forming in double bun.[187] A lock of hair is tucked over the head as shown in the illustration (*Fig*. XIX, 6).

(v) *Hair in a net*

A lady appears in the sculptures with her hair parted on the left side of the head and combed back where it is secured in a net adorned with pearls (*muktājāla*)[188] (*Fig.* XIX, 7). Parallel examples of this style are available at Ajanta.[189]

(vi) *Hair gathered in a bag*

A lady[190] appears in the sculpture with her hair gathered at the back in a cloth bag or sack bearing parallel decorative bands (*Fig.* XIX, 8). Similar example can be seen at Ajanta.[191] It is well known that ancient Greek ladies used to wear their hair in a bag of cloth (*sakkos*).[192] This might point to the Greek impact on this particular style.

(vii) *Loose hair tied into loop and knotted*

A lady appears with this type of hairdo. She has combed her loose hair into a loop with a knot on the nape. The hair is parted in the middle[193] and decorated with flower wreath (*Fig.* XX, 9).

Again, a lady depicted on the *toraṇa* pillar[194] offers this type of hair-style with slight variation. She has dressed her loose hair into a loop and tied it with a ribbon or fillet. However, no parting line of the hair is seen in this case (*Fig.* XX, 10).

(viii) *Hair rolled up and decorated with net of pearls*

A royal lady[195] appears in the sculpture with her hair rolled up or combed back with a parting line (*sīmanta* or *keśavīthi*). She has secured the hair with a net of pearls (*muktājāla*) to keep the hair unruffled by the breeze. A chair with a pendant (*jūṭikābharaṇa*) is adorned along the parting line (*Fig.* XX, 11). The hair-style reminds *kabarībandha* hair-style.[196] *Kabarībandha* differs from *keśapāśa* in its lack of the loop and is simply the hair rolled up.

(ix) *Hair with a domical knot over the head*

Sometimes, ladies[197] appear in the sculptures with their hair combed and arranged in a domical knot over knot over their heads (*Fig.* XX, 12 to 15). This arrangement for a domical knot is probably to obtain perfect curves. It is achieved by a depilatory process and the superfluous hair is removed by some sticky paste, a practice still followed by women in Mārwār.[198]

Sometimes, the ladies arranged their hair in addition to the domical knot in a single pig-tail dangling either to left or to right side of the head[199] (*Fig.* XX, I6; *Fig.* XXI, 17).

(x) *Hair twisted into spirals in receding tiers*

A fine example of this hair-style is offered by a lady depicted in the sculpture.[200] She has arranged the hair twisted into spirals in receding tiers (*Fig.* XXI, 18).

(xi) *Hair plaited in a single pig-tail and allowed to fall on the back*

A lady musician[201] offers this kind of hairdo. She has plaited her hair in a single pig tail and allowed to fall on the back (*Fig.* XXI, 19). Sometimes[202], the hair are plaited and braided into two pig tails joined together by their tips (*Fig.* XXI, 20). The hair-style represents the *praveṇī* type.

(xii) *Hair arranged in a pony-tail*

The ladies[203] arranged their hair in such a way as to fall on the back from the rear end of *keśavīthi* (*Fig.* XXI, 21 and 22). This hair-style resembles the pony-tail.

(xiii) *Hair dressed in a fan-shaped projection*

A *yakshiṇī*[204] has dressed her hair in a fan-shaped projection on the left side of the head (*Fig.* XXI, 23). This is evidently the peacock

plume mode of hair-style. This hair-style, as already pointed out, is also noted in sculptures of Sānchī,[205] Amarāvati,[206] Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[207] and Rājghāṭ.[208]

(xiv) *Hair looped and knotted*

In one instance,[209] a lady has arranged the hair in a loop and a knot (*Fig.* XXI, 24). It is the only instance of its kind in the whole range of sculptures.

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Mural Evidence : Ajanta

MALE HAIR-STYLES

(i) *Long hair combed from the forehead either backwards or sidewards*

A soldier represented in a painting[1] revealing *Siṁhala Avadāna* offers this type of hairdo. He has simply combed back his long hair from the forehead and allowed to dangle. He has tied a forehead band (*karpaṭa*), probably a strip of silken cloth (*Fig.* XXII, 1). Bāṇa mentions that similar bands (*karpaṭa*) were worn by servants of Harsha who won special favours from their master on account of their devotion to duty.[2] To have a long hair with ringlets (*cikuras* or *bhramarakas*) dangling on the forehead and locks falling on the nape and shoulders (*Fig.* XXII, 2 and 3) appears to have been a common hair-style during Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. The coiffure is secured by a forehead-band (*agrapaṭṭa*). This hair-style can be identified as *siṁha-kesara* hair-style.[3]

(ii) *Curly hair with wig-like appearance*

A person depicted in the paintings revealing *Mahājanaka jātaka* shows this type of hair-style. He has gathered his hair in protruding spherical knot on the head. A forehead band is also tied round the

head, presumably, for keeping the forehead curls unruffled by a strong breeze (*Fig.* XXII, 4). The whole style gives the appearance of a wig. The *chūrṇa kuntala*[4] hair-style probably denotes the wig. It is well known that the curly hair is a common hair-style among the Greeks and the Romans. It is also commonly found in the fashionable society of Iran during the Sassanian period[5]. It becomes a raging fashion in the 'Golden Age'.[6]

(iii) *Long hair with bow-knot on the top of the head*

Sometimes, men[7] appear in the Ajanta paintings with their long hair dressed with a bow-knot on the top of the heap and with side locks (*Fig.* XXIII, 5 and 6). This hair-style, again, is of foreign origin, probably of the Greek. Parallel examples of this occur in Gandhāra sculptures.[8]

(iv) *Śikhaṇḍa*

A conch blower revealed in the mural[9] illustrating royal procession appears with this fashion of hair-style. He has arranged his hair into an egg-shaped ball (*śikhaṇḍa*) (*Fig.* XXIII, 7). He has tied a jewelled strip (*lalāṭa paṭṭa*) aroud his head. His long curly hair dangles on the nape in the *siṁha-kesara* style. Exactly similar hair-style is again met with in another male figure (*Fig.* XXIII, 8). In this case, he has dressed his hair into an egg-shaped ball (*śikhaṇḍa*). Sometimes, hair is dressed into a conical top[10] over the head and tied with jewelled strips (*karpaṭa*) (*Fig.* XXIII, 9). Again, a soldier,[11] depicted in the mural revealing the arrival of a *Rāja* with his retinue to worship the *Bodhi* tree, offers a similar kind of hairdo. He has arranged the hair into a spherical knot over the head and allowed it to fall on his forehead (*Fig.* XXIII, 10). Such a protruding knot was also sometimes kept on the right side of the head[12] (*Fig.* XXII, 11). The whole hair is tied with a band. Some of the *bhikus* have collected their hair in elongated knot on the top of the head (*Fig.* XXII, 12).

A slight deviation from this hair-style can be seen in a dwarf depicted in the painting[13] illustrating *Śaṅkhapāla jātaka*. He has

dressed his hair in flat bun on the left of his head. The bun is fastened with a beaded band and a streamer (*Fig.* XXII, 13).

(v) *Jaṭābhāra*

A male worshipper offers this kind of hairdo. He has arranged his hair in a conical shape over the head. The *jaṭābhāra* shaped into a cone is tilted to the left side of the head (*Fig.* XXII, 14).

(vi) *Śikhaṇḍa and jaṭābhāra modes cambined*

Generally, ascetics and sages appear with this type of hair-style. A sage in a mural[14] depicting *Śyāma jātaka* appears in this kind of hairdo. He has arranged his hair in combined modes of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa*. (*Fig.* XXII, 15). Again, a male worshipper depicted in the mural[15] illustrating *Buddha preaching the congregation* reveals similar type of hairdo. Here, the *śikhaṇḍa* is slightly tilted to the right of the head. It offers a hair-style in which *śikhaṇḍa* and *jaṭābhāra* modes get combined (*Fig.* XXIII, 16). A slight deviation from this is seen elsewhere.[16] While arranging the hair in *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes has let a lock of hair form into a loop (*Fig.* XXIII, 17).

(vii) *Tonsured head with a tuft*

Generally, brāhmins appear with this hairdo. An interesting example occurs in the mural[17] depicting *votaries bringing offerings.* A male, brāhmin, appears with a clean shaven head. Further, he has allowed a lock of hair (tuft) at the back of the head, as shown in the illustration (*Fig.* XXIII, 18).

(viii) *Tonsured head with two locks of hair on the forehead*

This type of hairdo is quite interesting and is seen with a male[18] who has tonsured his head and allowed two locks of hair on the forehead (*Fig.* XXIII, 19). This hair-siyle is quite un-Indian and evidently of foreign origin. It resembles very much the Chinese hair-style.

(ix) *Cropped hair*

Sometimes, males combed their cropped hair back, without any parting line[19] (*Fig.* XXIII, 20 and 21; *Fig.* XXII, 22). But they also combed the cropped their hair sidewards as seen in the illustration[20] (*Fig.* XXIII, 22).

(x) *Hair combed into a bun*

A soldier offers this type of hairdo. He has combed his hair forming into roundish bun on the nape. The parting line is clearly extant (*Fig.* XXIII, 23). Many people appear in the murals with their hair arranged in a bun which is usually adorned with a floral or jewelled chaplet.[21] This hair-style is seen more in women than with men.

(xi) *Short unkempt hair*

An interesting hair-style is seen with a brāhmin depicted in the mural[22] revealing *Visvantara jātaka.* He has a thin unkempt hair with a knotted tuft at the back (*Fig.* XXII, 24).

FEMALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Loose hair* (*lambālaka*)

A princess[23] illustrated in the murals depicting *Champeyya jātaka* appears in this hair-style. Her hair is seen loosely falling over the nape and the shoulders (*Fig.* XXIV, 1). Sometimes women[24] having loose hair allowed some tresses on the forehead and sides (*Fig.* XXIV, 2). In yet another case,[25] a lady has allowed her loose long hair to dangle on the back. She has tied her hair with a band or a silken cloth (*karpaṭa*) near the nape, probably for keeping the hair tight (*Fig.* XXIV, 3). In some other instance,[26] a lady has combed back her long hair straight (*Fig.* XXIV, 4). She has tied a band on her head.

This simple hair-style is called *lambālaka* by Kālidāsa in his *kāvyas.* While describing a *yakshiṇi*, who had been separated from her

husband, Kālidāsa refers to her hair-style as a *lambālaka*.[27] It appears the ladies separated from their lovers kept their hair loose and undressed. When such long and loose hair is not ornamented, it can be identified as *ekaveṇī*.[28]

(ii) *Loose hair in coils or in curls*

An *apsara*[29] appears with her hair combed back into long coils to dangle on her nape. A few curls (*cikuras* or *bhramarakas*) dangle on the forehead. She also wears a delicate tiara (*Fig.* XXIV, 5). It appears Indumatī had her hair on the forehead twisted into small curls (*valibhṛt*).[30] In the Gupta art the style of having *cikuras* and *bhramarakas* on the forehead appears to have been favoured very much. It seems this fashion of hair-style travelled from India to to Central Asia where it is noticed in wall paintings.[31]

Sometimes, ladies offer a hairdo slightly different from the above one. In this case, the hair is parted in the middle allowing a few ringlets to fall on the right half of the forehead. The hair taken back is allowed to fall in curls on the shoulders[32] (*Fig.* XXIV, 6). In another instance,[33] a lady has dressed her hair parting it in the middle and allowed the knotted right braid with a curl to fall on the chest while the twisted left braid fell on the shoulders (*Fig.* XXIV, 7).

(iii) *Hair secured in a net*

A dying princess[34] offers this fashion of the hair-style. She has parted her hair in the middle and combed back securing the hair in a net adorned with pearls (*muktājāla*). She also wears a jewelled band with pearl tassels along the parting line (*sīmanta*). It can be Bāṇa's *jūṭikābharaṇa* (*Fig.* XXIV, 8). Again, a maid servant depicted in the painting revealing *Mahājanaka jātaka*,[35] has parted her hair in the middle and combed it back into two parts. The one on the right side of the head is secured in a net while the other on the left falls loose on the shoulder (*Fig.* XXV, 9).

(iv) *Hair twisted into spiral*

In this hair-style, the hair is twisted into a spiral and is interwoven with pearl strings[36] (*Fig.* XXV, 10). In one instance,[37] a lady has parted her hair in the middle (*sīmanta*) and twisted the hair into spiral and allowed it to fall on the right shoulder (*Fig.* XXV, 11). A flower is tucked into it. Again, an ogress[38] has twisted the whole mass of her hair into a spiral. It is interwoven with strings of beads or pearls (*Fig.* XXV, 12). The hair-style is very much similar to that of the ladies of Gūrjara rāshṭra described by Hemachandra.[39] Yet in another instance,[40] a lady has combed back her hair and lightly twisted into spirals. A few ringlets are allowed to fall on the shoulders (*Fig.* XXV, 13). The coiffure is richly adorned with flower chaplets and flowers.

These hair-styles are depicted in Gandhāra,[41] Amarāvati[42] and Mathurā.[43] However, it is absent in the Mauryan and Śuṅga art. This style makes its appearance in 1st-2nd century A.D. and survives in Vākāṭaka-Gupta period but with a infrequent occurrence.

(v) *Hair combed backwards and secured in a roundish bun with a knot close to the head*

This is perhaps the commonest style in Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. The ladies combed their hair back into a round bun with or without parting line. It is generally decked with a chaplet or flowers. Sometimes, it is also adorned with a band either plain or jewelled (*Figs.* XXV, 14,[44] 15,[45] 16,[46]; *Fig.* XXVI, 17,[47] and 18[48]).

Interestingly, an instance of hair-style arranged in double bun also occurs in Ajanta murals. A votary[49] has parted her hair in the middle and dressed in a double bun which is secured in a net. A chaplet is tied to the bun which is richly adorned with flowers (*Fig.* XXVI, 19).

In some instances, there is a deviation from this hair-style. The ladies comb their hair back into a bun allowing a few curls on the back. A flower wreath invariably adorns the bun[50] (*Fig.* XXVI, 20 and 21).

(vi) *Hair with a knot over the head*

A female drummer[51] depicted in the painting illustrating *Mahā-janaka jātaka,* has gathered some of her hair on the forehead with protruding knot. Another similar knot bigger in size is seen on the top of her head, while on the nape is arranged a bun (*Fig.* XXVI, 22).[52] A *chāmara dhāriṇī*[53] offers a slightly different hair-style. In her case, the hair is arranged in knots, one over the head and the other on the left side of the head. A few locks of hair are allowed to sling on the shoulders (*Fig.* XXVI, 23). In yet another instance,[54] a lady appears with hair combed back into a knot on the back of the head. A huge bunch of curled hair is allowed to sling on the shoulders. A band is tied round the head and the knot (*Fig.* XXVI, 24).

(vii) *Hair dressed into a conch-shaped knot*

An ogress[55] illustrated in the mural depicting *Siṁhala Avadāna* offers this hair-style. She has arranged her hair combing it back into a conch-shaped knot on the left side of the head. The knot is secured into a net or a flower-designed kerchief and pearl strings are suspended from the knot (*Fig.* XXVII, 25). In another case,[56] the hair is parted (on the right and is arranged into a roll on the left of the head (*Fig.* XXVII, 26). In yet another instance,[57] a lady has arranged her hair into an elongated knot on the right side of the head. The knot is adorned by a lotus flower (*Fig.* XXVII, 27).

This hair-style can be identified as *dhammilla* which gets literary citation[58] and is present at Amarāvati. The word *dhammilla* is derived from Dravida (Sanskrit), *damila* (Simhalese) and *tamila* the present name for South India.[59] In all probability, this hair-style points out its South Indian origin. It is absent in Kushāṇa art but occurs again in Vākāṭaka-Gupta period.

(viii) *Hair arranged in an elongated roll*

A lady[60] has parted her hair on the right and combed back. A part of the hair she has gathered in an elongated projected roll. A few

locks of hair are allowed to dangle on the right shoulder. Pearl strings are suspended from the knot (*Fig.* XXVII, 28).

(ix) *Bobbed hair*

Sometimes, ladies[61] appear in the murals with bobbed hair parted in the middle (*Fig.* XXVII, 29). At times, the parting line is adorned with a band or chain strip.[62] A flower also is tucked (*Fig.* XXVII, 30). The bobbed hair is quite un-Indian and has foreign origin.

(x) *Hair with apple-shaped knot*

A lady[63] appears with a portion of her hair curled and parted on the right, and the left part coiled in an apple-shaped knot (*Fig.* XXVII, 31).

(xi) *Hair simply rolled up and tied with a band*

A female depicted in the mural[64] revealing the *Rāja with his retinue to worship the Bodhi tree* offers an interesting hair-style. She has rolled up her hair and tied on the hair with a band on the forehead. Three peacock plumes are tucked into the band (*Fig.* XXVII, 32) Such kind of embellishment to the hair can be seen to this day in the tribal women.

(xii) *Hair dressed in dough nut-shaped knot*

Some women appear in the murals with this type of hairdo. They have arranged their hair into dough nut-shaped knot on the right of their head and the knot is secured either by a net ornamented with pearl strings (*muktājāla*) or in a scarf. (Dhavalikar, *Figs.* XIII, 11&12).

Securing the coiffure with a scarf is rare or almost absent in early Indian art and its occurrence at Ajanta becomes quite interesting. However, one finds literary citation for using such scarfs in a coiffure in *Nāṭyaśātra* of Bharata. He speaks of the Ābhīra women who secure their coiffure with blue cloth.[65] Among the Hellenistic Greeks, the

type of securing the coiffure with scarf was common fashion[96] and, in all probability, this fashion could have been introduced in India by the Greeks and hence its presence at Ajanta.

The prevalence of the variety of hair-styles in Vākāṭaka-Gupta period is indicative of the care taken by the people of the period in dressing their hair. The curly hair in wig-like appearance with schematic ringlets on the forehead was the fashion of the day. The wigs were very much in use in the Hellenistic and Roman world and in all probability the introduction of this hair-style in Ajanta may be due to Roman influence. Women, as usual, excelled men in this respect. This style is, however, perfected by the *nāgaraka* of Vātsyāyana. The plaited or braided hairs, peacock plume modes of hair-style and bun, which had their beginning in early periods, were perfected and finally assimilated as a pattern of life only in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. Some of the old fashions, like rolling the hair into a conch-shaped knot, persisted in the later period as they do even today in South India. The charming hair-style *dhammilla* finds a dominant place among the hair-styles of Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. The forehead band, which is a common feature for the Ajanta ladies, could have been the result of the Greco-Roman influence. Another article that was introduced during the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period is the hair-net. Many references to such nets occur in early Sanskrit literature. Kālidāsa mentions net ornamented with pearls (*muktājāla*),[97] and Bāṇa refers to jewelled nets (*ratna jāla*).[98] Even earlier, we find Bharata mentioning hair-nets (*śikhā-jāla*; *śīrṣa-jāla*).[99] At Ajanta, particularly in later period, there is an increasing use of flower kerchiefs and cloth bags in hair dressing. It is well-known that such articles were very common in Greece.

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Epilogue

The foregoing study of the hair-styles delineated in the sculptures of Barhut, Sānchī, Amarāvati, Gandhāra, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Mathurā and in the paintings of Ajanta is an endeavour to throw light on the variety of coiffures popular in the Śuṅga, Sātavāhana, Ikshvāku, Kushāṇa, Gupta periods, and among the people who lived in north-western part of India.

The period under review, i.e., from the 2nd century B.C. to the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., was a formative period in Indian history. It was an era of considerable political stability and peace. The immense economic prosperity of the people coupled with religious zeal resulted in many creative activities. The flourishing society was fit to assimilate new trends as also to transform the older ones. Hence, during this period, we notice innovations and a retrieval of old traditions. In the matter of hair-styles, several indigenous traits and some foreign influences are unmistakably noticeable.

The contemporary literary sources of the period under study form a potential source in supplementing the sculptural and mural data of the hair-styles. Amazingly, they mention variety of hair-styles and many of them find place in lithic and mural representations. The artists of early Indian art ably immortalised many of the literary descriptions of the hair-styles by impeccably transmuting them into lithics and murals. The very mention of the coiffures like *opaśa*,

kaparda, kumba, kurīra, keśa śikhaṇḍa, śikhā, sīman, pulasti, sṭukā in the vedic literature, reveals the rich variety of hair-styles known to the vedic Indians.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata specifically prescribes the hair-styles of women according to their lands. The boys as usual, wore *śikhaṇḍa*, while the sages had the crown of matted hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*). The celebrated work of Patañjali, the *Mahābhāshya*, throws much light on the hair-styles of the Kushāṇa times. The ladies appeared with dainty hair keeping bobbed wig (*tanu keśayaḥ striyāḥ*). Some of the hair-styles cited in the *Mahāhbāshya*, interestingly, find place in the sculptures of Mathurā.

The hair-styles referred to by Kālidāsa in his *kāvyas* give an idea of the hair-styles in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. The Ajanta paintings illustrate many of the lovely hair-styles like *praveṇī, ekaveṇī, dhammilla, kabarī-bandha, siṁha-kesara* etc., described in Kālidāsa's works.

The hair-styles like *chūrṇa kuntala, cikuras, bhramarakas, śikhaṇḍaka, dhammilla, sirsanya* and *sirasya* are all mentioned in the *Amarakośa*. Of these, the *chūrṇa kuntala* seems to have been very much favoured during the 'Golden age'. The long hair is variously termed in the *Sanskrit* literature as *lambakeśa, sirsanya, sirasya, lambālika*, in the *Vāya Purāṇa, Amarakośa* and *Harshacharita* respectively. The hair-style *siṁha-kesara* mentioned in the *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa* has frequent sculptural and mural depictions. The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* considers the woman's loosening her locks of hair (*keśa vimokshana*) in the presence of man as a mark of love for him. According to the *Harshacharita*, the chiefs, when visited the court of Harsha had peacock feathers tucked in their top-knots. This is depicted in Ajanta paintings.

It may not be possible to point out the hair-styles according to the status of the people. In the early Indian art, the queens, attendants, and the *prāsādakas* appear invariably in the same hair-styles, thereby rendering it impossible to discriminate the hair-styles according to their status. There was no particular style which could be monopoly of a particular class of society. Interestingly, many of the hair-styles depicted in the sculptures are corroborated by literary descriptions. The *lambālaka* or *lambakeśa, barhi-bhāra-keśa* (peacock plume mode),

śikhaṇḍa, jaṭābhāra, praveṇi, keśapāśa, dhammilla, kabarībandha etc., mentioned as they are in literature, are realistically represented in the sculptures and paintings.

The *lambālaka*, or the *lambakeśa* mostly seen in women, was a common hair-style and was present throughout the early Indian art. Similarly, the long hair with upward twisted curls is commonly found in males depicted in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and in the paintings of Ajanta. This hair-style can be the *siṁha-kesara* hair-style referred to in the *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa.*

The peacock plume mode of hair-style is a charming one and is found more in women than men in the early Indian art. It is available at Amarāvati, Sānchī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. At Nāgājunakoṇḍa, it appears that it did not find much favour although its examples are not wanting. But during the Gupta period, its popularity increased amazingly. Kālidāsa identifies this hair-style as *barhi-bhāra-keśa.*

The *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* hair-styles combined occur throughout the early Indian art. This is probably because of the reason that religion was the guiding factor for a sculptor, whether he worked at Barhut, Sānchī, Amarāvati, Goli, Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, Mathurā or at Gandhāra. Consequently, the artist's yardstick in the depiction of the sage with matted locks or of the monk with a shaven head was uniform and has remained an inevitable appendage in the sculptures. This hair-style is very common at Barhut, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and at Gandhāra.

The *praveṇī* is a charming hair-style that captivated the eyes of the sculptors of the early Indian art. This hair-style appears to be almost the monopoly of South India. It is extremely common at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The absence or the rarity of this hair-style and the presence of the bun in profusion at Sānchī seems to be due the fact that the *praveṇī* was not favoured by the people of the Sānchī region and they preferred the bun in its place. Again, the occasional depiction of *praveṇī* at Ajanta shows its lesser adoption by the people of the later Vākāṭaka-Gupta period.

Some hair-styles found favour only in particular region and remained the contributions of the ruling dynasties of that region. The hair arranged in the fan-shaped projection, different from the peacock

plume mode, was the hair-style confined to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathurā. Evidently, this hair-style enjoyed popularity and monopoly under Ikshvāku and Kushāṇa rulers. The ponytail was again a local hair-style confined to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathurā. The hair with domical knot which is present only at Mathurā could have been the favourite hair-style during Kushāṇa times. Mathurā, as can be seen from the depictions, contributes a variety of hair-styles indigenous to that region. The hair arranged in double bun and the one with upward combing allowing to converge on the forehead are the hair-styles popular in Mathurā. Similarly, Ajanta exhibits certain hair-styles known to that region. The hair-style like the one twisted in the spirals and the other dressed in dough-nut shaped knot was much favoured during the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period.

Owing to the trade links between India and the West during the preceding and succeeding centuries of the Christian era, India came into contact with many foreign countries. The foreign influence on the Indian way of life and the vice-versa was inevitable. The adoption of the bun as a coiffure appears to be a foreign introduction. At Sānchī, it appears for the first time in the 1st century B.C. The bun at Gandhāra is evidently of Hellenistic origin. The Greek and Roman women showed great interest in combing their hair into bun. This coiffure also became common at Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mathurā. It reached the zenith of its popularity in Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. Similarly, the plaited hair arranged to sling on the back could have been the introduction of foreigners at Mathurā. The hairdo is very much akin to the Iranian hair-style.

The curly hair is again a foreign introduction. It is interesting to note that in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, the curly hair was very much popular. Its impact could very well be seen in the Gandhāra sculptures. In all probability, the Greeks introduced this hair-style in Gandhāra in 4th century while at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa it was introduced by Romans or Scythians during the rule of Sātavāhanas and Ikshvākus respectively. However, one finds its extreme popularity in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. An antelope rider depicted at Sānchī, betrays curlish hair in such a way as to allow it to fall on the forehead. This is again a foreign hair-style and heralds the coiffure seen among

the noblemen of the Imperial Roman court. In early times, it is said that the Greeks also used to comb their hair in similar fashion. However, this hair-style which was popular at Sānchī did not find favour in any other place in India.

The hair-style arranged in spirals on the top of the head was again a foreign introduction. At Gandhāra, its depiction among the females is in profusion. the hair-style distinctly exhibits its Greek origin. Its comparable example is available in the coiffures of the Greek ladies revealed in some of the terracottas. Another hair-style at Gandhāra, namely, the long curlish hair combed back and brought forward over the forehead is again un-Indian and is of Greek origin. It resembles very much the hair-style of the noblemen of the Imperial Roman court. Eventually, this coiffure becomes a characteristic feature of later Gandhāra art. Another hair-style, probably of Greek origin, is the long hair with bow-knot on the top of the head. This is present at Gandhāra and Ajanta. Tonsured head with locks of hair on the forehead depicted at Ajanta is un-Indian and heralds the Chinese hair-style. The bobbed hair with parting line which is present at Ajanta also betrays a foreign origin.

It is noteworthy that the fashion has been adopted along with their accessories. The hair-styles in many cases were embellished with flower wreaths, bands (*karpaṭa*), *lalāṭapaṭṭa*, *jūṭikābharaṇa*, etc. The Indian women were in the habit of using cloth bands (*vālapāśya*), possibly of silk or bands of thin sheet metal (*patra-pāśya*). The hair-style like *praveṇī* had *padataditaka*, the survivals of which can be seen in the modern *jaḍa-gucchas* (*jaṭā gucchas*). Sometimes, a flower ornament presumably of gold (*nāgara* type) adorned the *praveṇī* hair-style. Among the head-bands (*agrapaṭṭas*) which decorated the hair some were of foreign origin as seen at Sānchī. At Sānchī, the metal plaques were used as head-bands. These could have been *stephane* of the Greeks. Such metal plaque or the sheet of metal is known in the Sanskrit literature as *patra-pāśya*. Sometimes, the hair was worn in nets (*kekry-phalos*), bags (*sakkos*) and hand-kerchiefs wrapped round it in the shape of cap. Evidently, these are all of Greek origin. Sometimes, the hair was secured in a net (*jāla*) which was also made of pearls (*muktājāla*). Its examples are available in the Ajanta paintings.

Bāṇa refers to a jewelled net (*ratnajāla*). Even earlier, we find Bharata mentioning hair-nets (*śikhājāla*, *śīrśajāla*). As the hair was secured in a bag (*sakkos*), it points to the Greek influence on this particular style.

Securing the coiffure with a scarf is rare or almost absent in early Indian art and its occurrence at Ajanta becomes quite interesting. However, one finds literary citations for using such scarf on a coiffure in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. The Ābhīra women secured their hair with blue cloth. Among the Hellenistic Greeks, this was a common fashion and it may be surmised that this fashion could have been introduced in India by the Greeks.

Another important item is the chaplet, either floral or jewelled or of *kevada* (*Pandanus, Grdoratismus*). The Sanskrit poets never failed to eulogise the beauty of flowers in the damsel's coiffures. Even to this day, the women in South India, Mahārāshṭra and Gujarāt show great liking for the chaplets.

Many of the hair-styles like *lambālaka, praveṇī, keśapāśa* (bun), pony, pony-tail, pig-tail, curly hair, (*chūrṇa kuntala*) that appear in sculptures, paintings and also in literature, survive even today. The *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* hair-style continues to be the hair-style of the present day ascetics and sages. The habit of leaving *cikuras* or *bhramarakas* on the forehead, as seen in sculptures, continues to be the fashion amongst modern women. The hair-styles of the ancient India thus have their parallel today in some form or other, for tradition dies hard, more so in a country like India. Therefore, many of the hair-styles today have direct limits with the ancient Indian hair-styles.

Glossary of Terms

āchchhādana	drapery
ādarśa maṇḍala	pure mirror
agrapaṭṭa	forehead band
barhi-bhāra-keśa	peacock plume mode coiffure
bhramaraka	ringlets of hair
chūrṇa kuntala	curly hair
cikura	ringlets of hair
dhammilla	decked feminine braid
ekaveṇī	single rolled hair of woman signifying separation from her husband
hattha phaṇaka	hand comb
jaṭā	matted lock
jāṭā-mukuṭa	crown of matted hair
jūṭikābharaṇa	a frontal jewel on the forehead suspended by means of a chain of gold or silver
kabarī-bandha	the hair simply rolled up and invariably adorned with flower wreath
kalpāka	tuft of a braided hair
kaparda	coiffure arranged in the form of a conch-shell

kappaka	the hair dressing
karpaṭa	forehead band
kekry phalos	hair net of Greek origin
keśa bandha	coiffure comprising of gathering the hair into a bundle on one side of the head
keśa pāśa	arrangement of hair in loop shape
keśavīthi	parting line of the hair
koccha	comb
kumba	coiffure with hemispherical or pot-shaped coil at the back of the head
kurīra	horn-shaped coiffure
lalāṭapaṭṭa	forehead band
lambālaka	a long hair combed horizontally on either side of the dividing line
lamba-keśa	long haired
muktā-jāla	net ornamented with pearl strings
muktā-keśa	with hair dishevelled
nāgaraka	cultured man
opaśa	coiffure comprised in gathering up of the hair with a small top-knot leaving it loose enough to form a dome-like cover or flounced cap
patrapāśya	band of thin sheet metal
pony-tail	long hair plaited or otherwise and secured by means of a fillet or ribbon at the rear end of the *sīmanta*
praveṇī	long plaited hair
pulasti	another style of *kaparda*
ratna-jāla	jewelled net
sakkos	cloth bag of Greek origin
śikhā	knot of the hair worn on the top of the head
śikhaṇḍa	tuft or lock as mode of wearing the hair
sīman or sīmanta	parting of the hair
siṁha-kesara	mane-like hair falling on the neck
śirśa-jāla	head net
stephane	a broad strip of metal resembling the diadem and richly ornamented

sṭukā	braids of hair
taraṅga	wavy hair
tirīta	diadem or tiara for the decoration of the hair
vālapāśya	silken band
vitta	fillet

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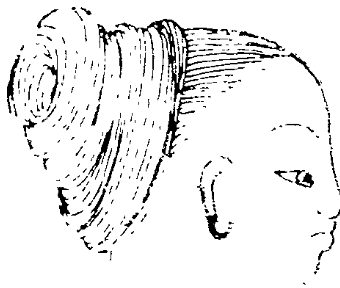
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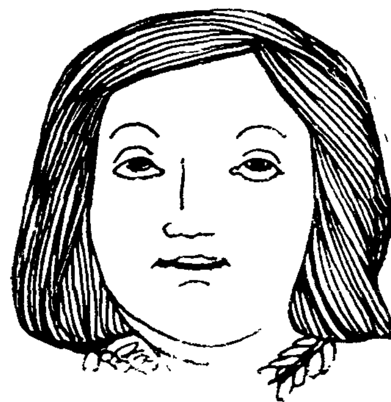
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Fig. 1 Barhut Male Hair-styles



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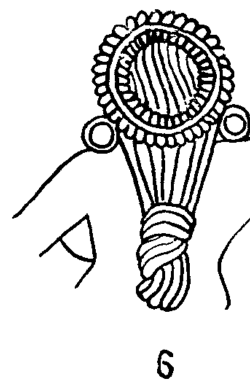
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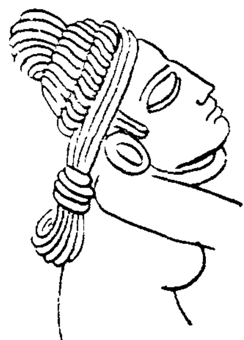


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Fig. II Barhut Female Hair-styles



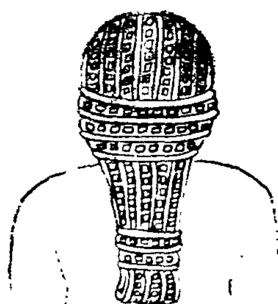
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Fig. III Barhut Female Hair-styles

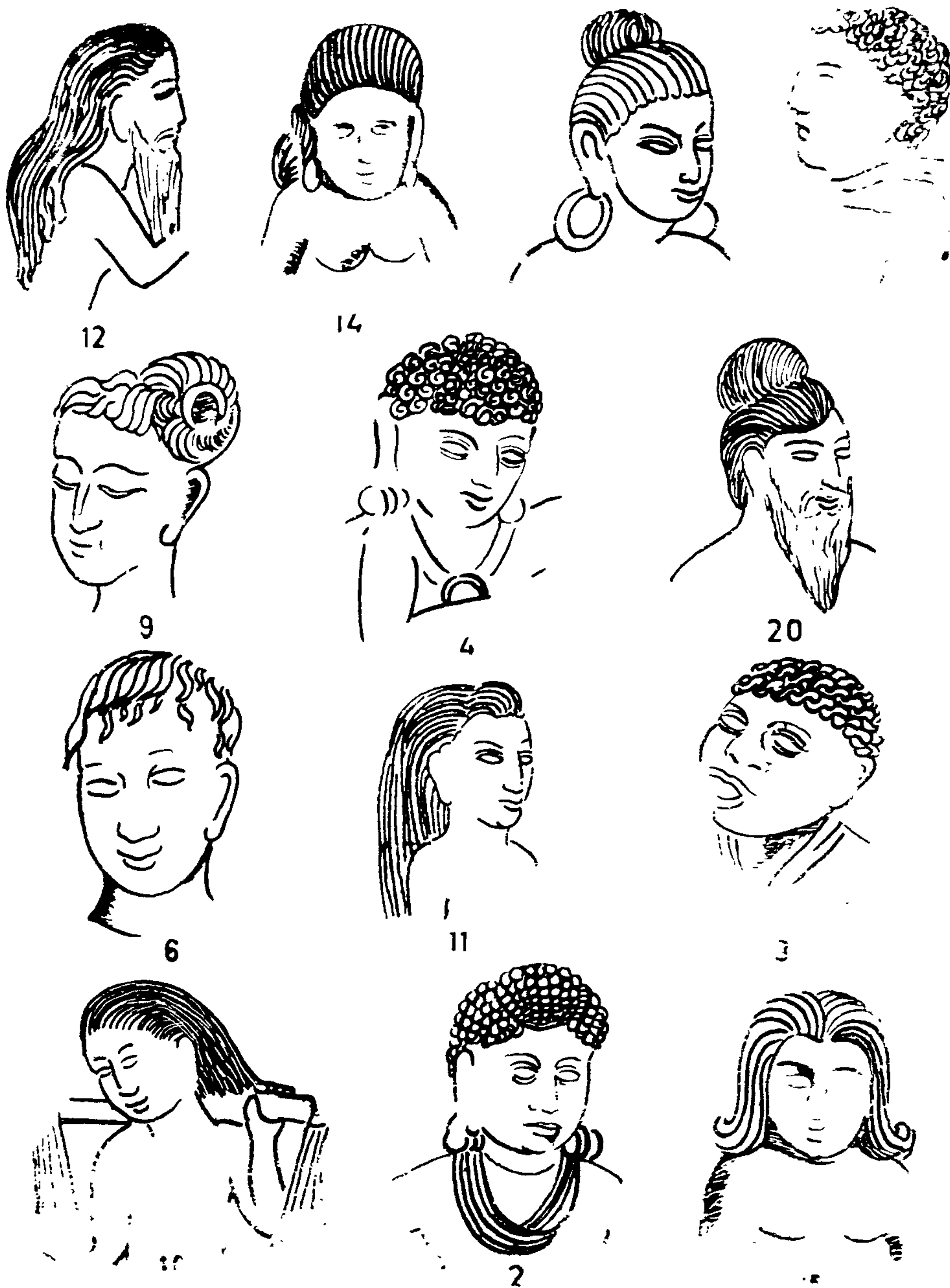


Fig. IV Sānchī Male Hair-styles



Fig. V Sānchī Male Hair-styles

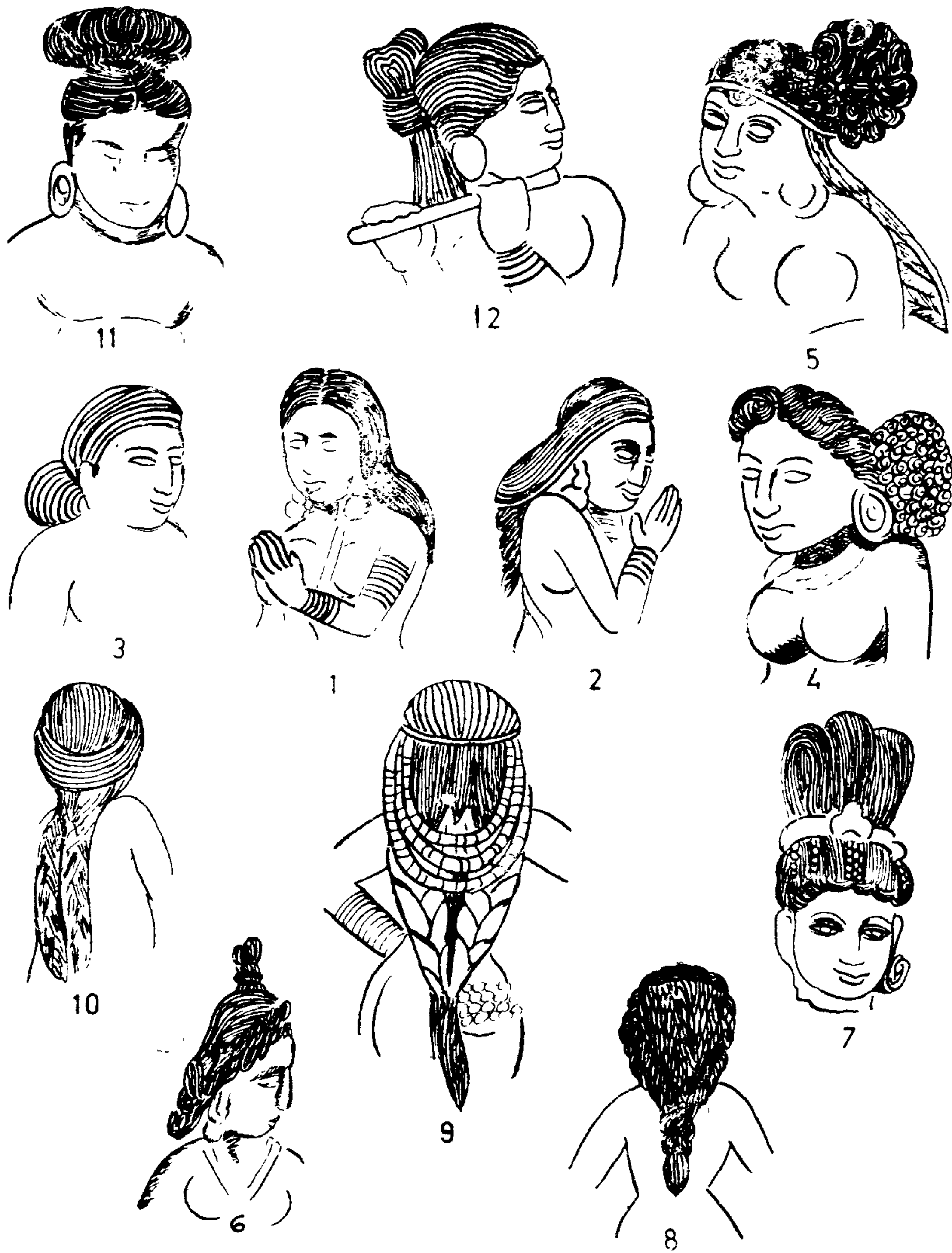


Fig. VI Sānchī Female Hair-styles







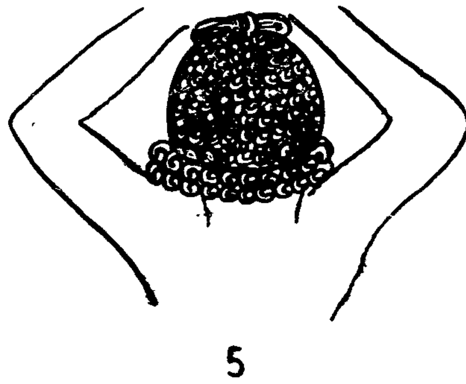








Fig. VII Amarāvati Male Hair-styles

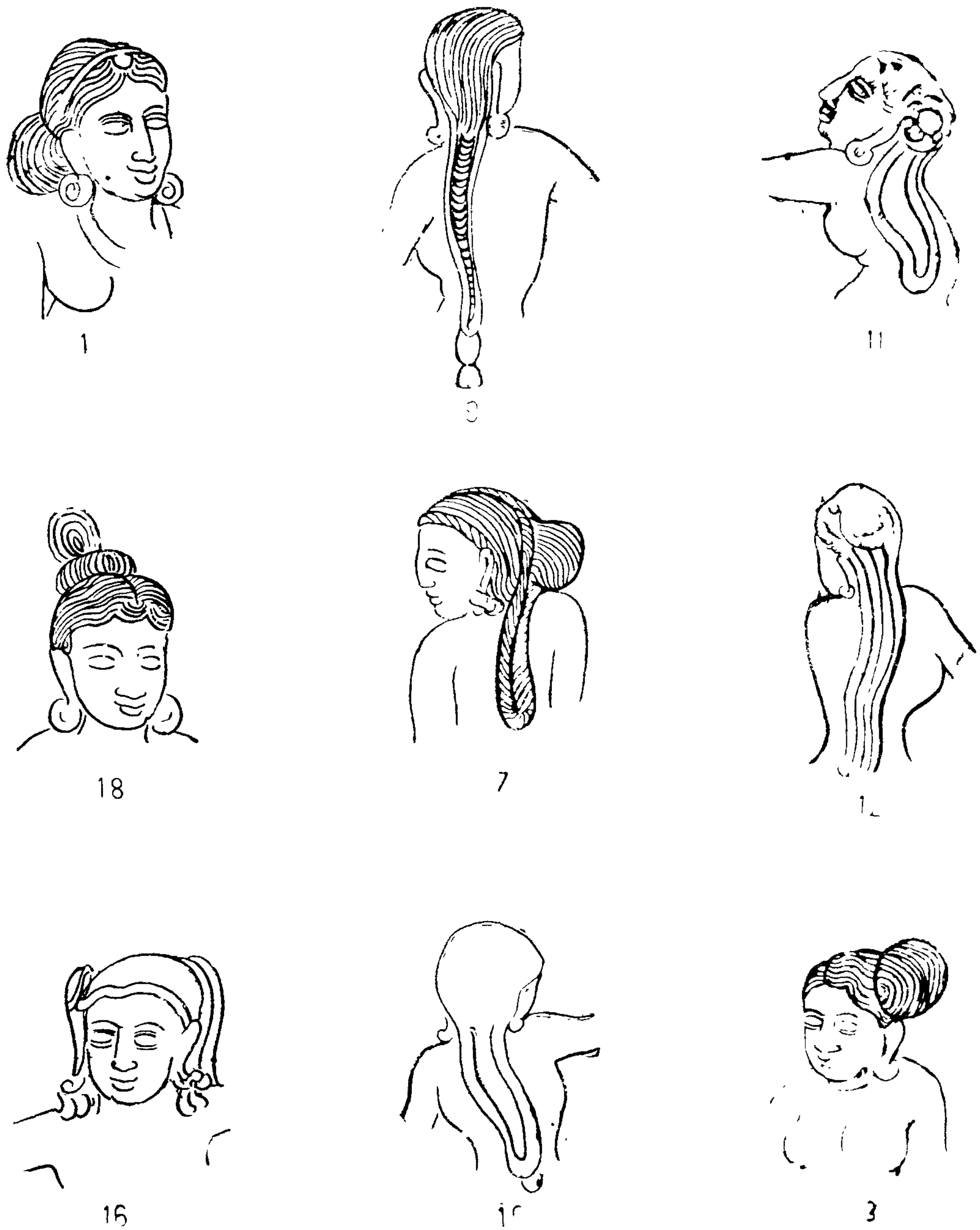


Fig. VIII Amarāvati Female Hair-styles

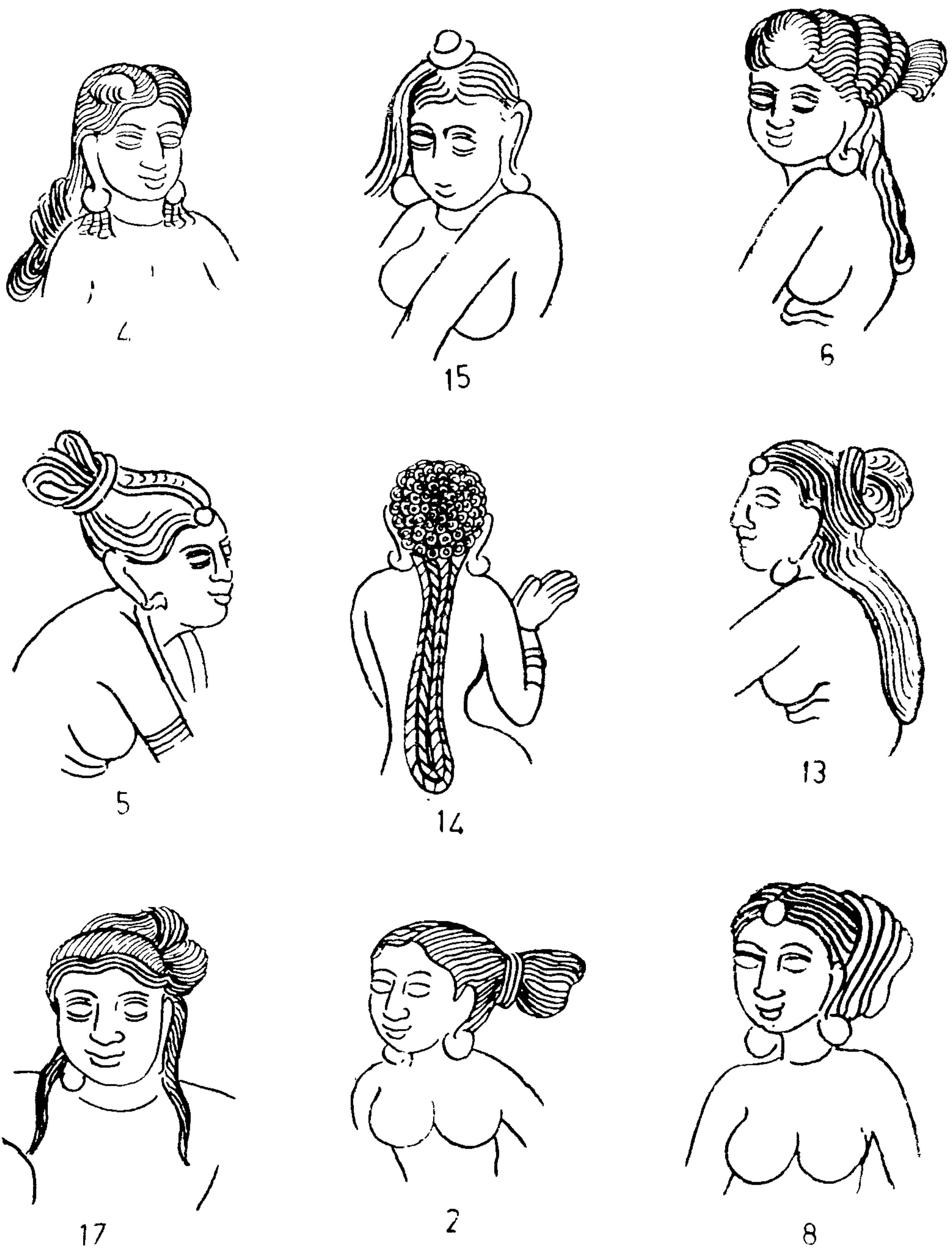


Fig. IX Amarāvati Female Hair-styles

















Fig. X Gandhāra Male Hair-styles



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Fig. XI Gandhāra Male Hair-styles

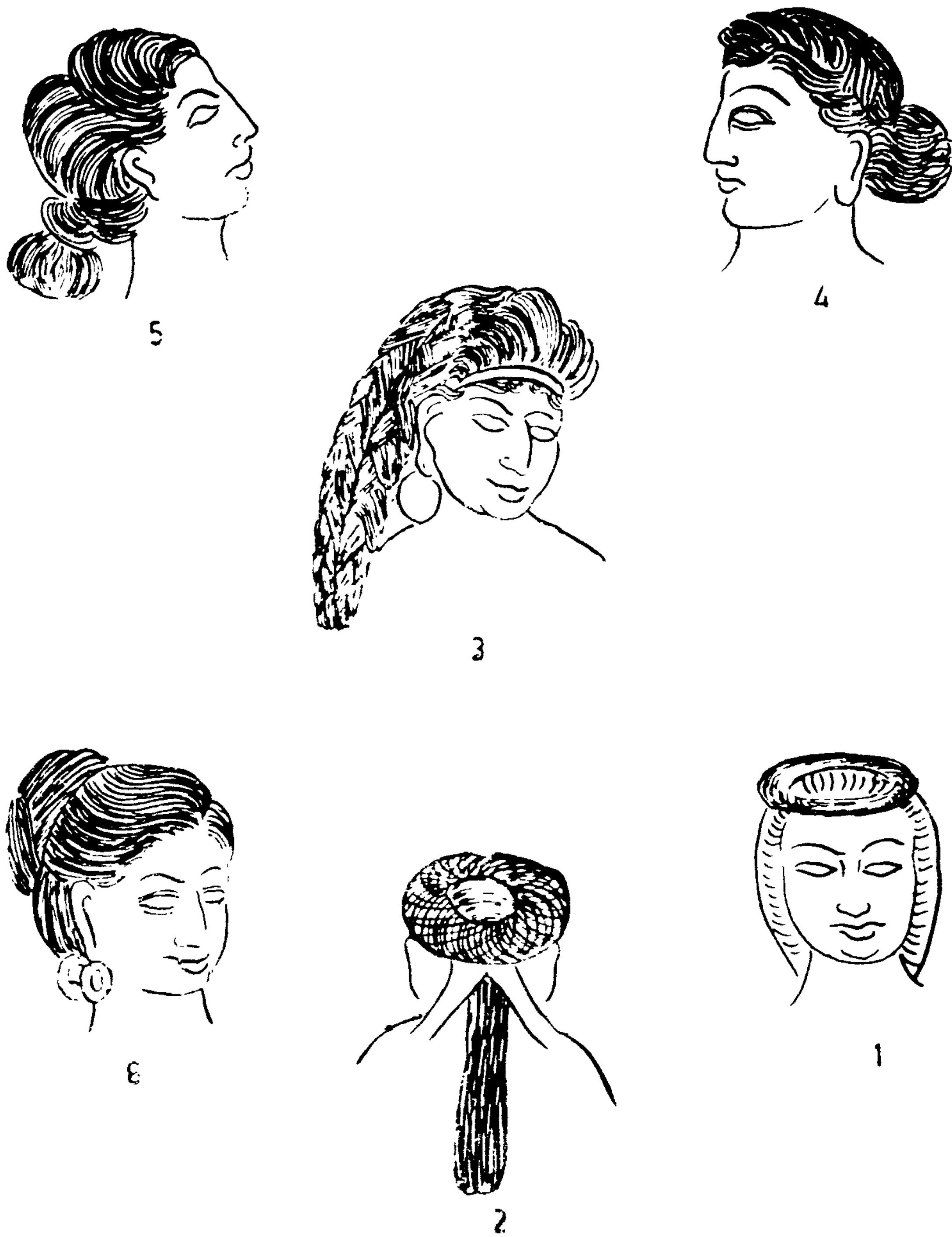


Fig. XII Gandhāra Female Hair-styles



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Fig. XIII Gandhāra Female Hair-styles









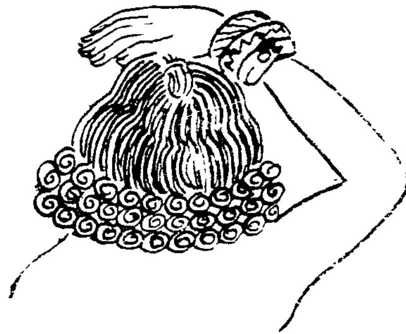










Fig. XIV Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Male Hair-styles



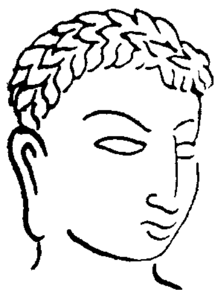
11



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13

Fig. XV Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Male Hair-styles













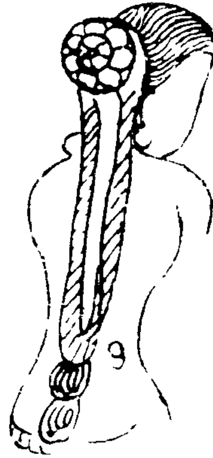




Fig. XVI Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Female Hair-styles













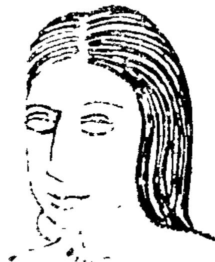
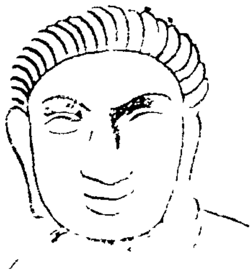
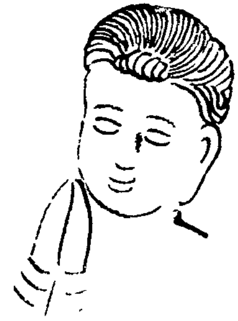




Fig. XVII Nagārjunakoṇḍa Female Hair-styles



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Fig. XVIII   Mathurā Male Hair-styles

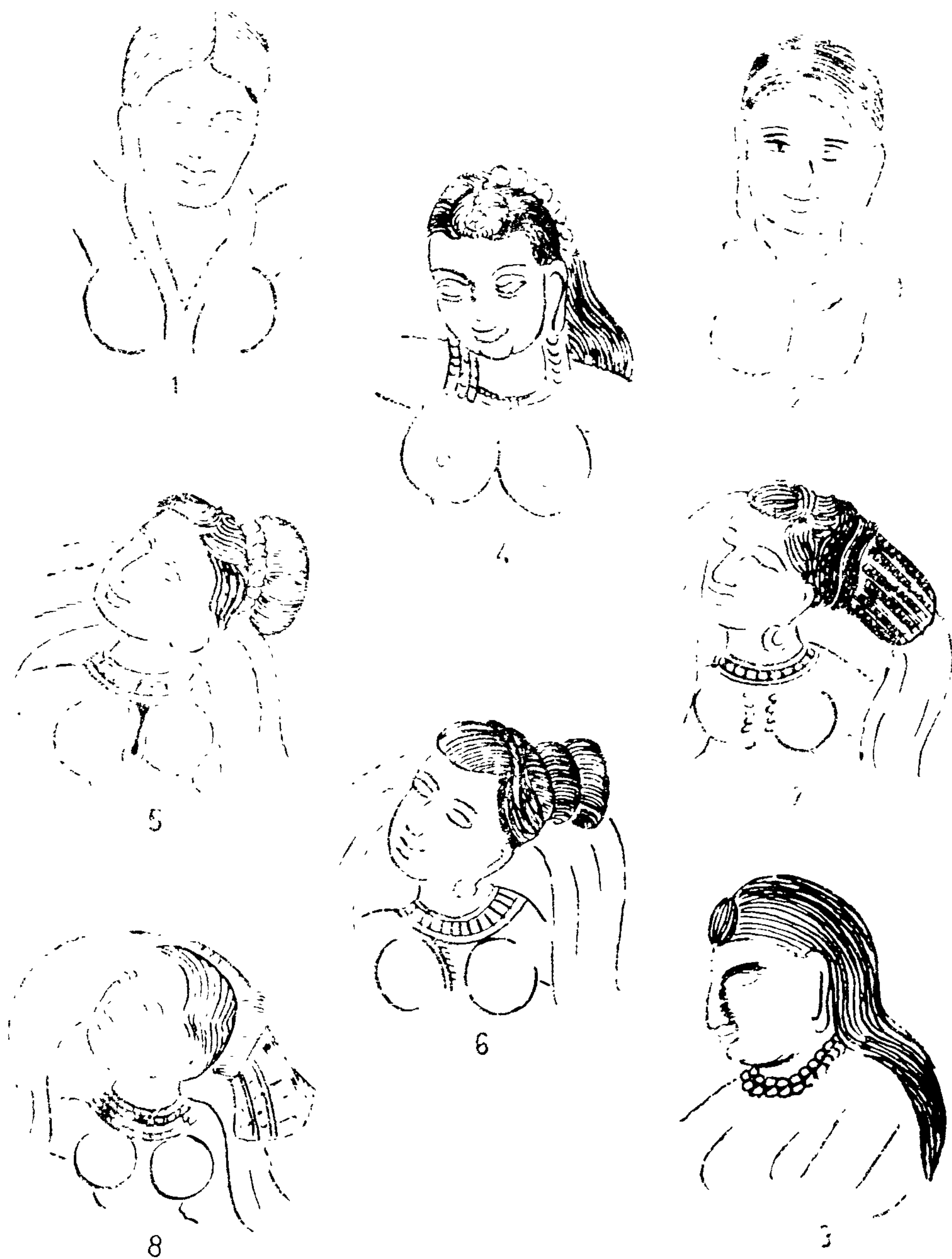
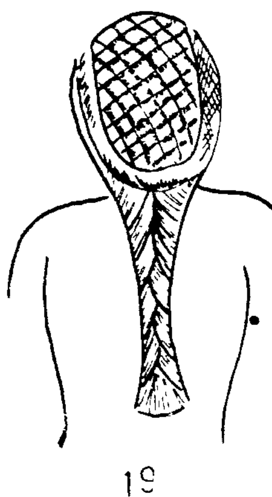


Fig. XIX Mathurā Female Hair-styles



Fig. XX Mathurā Female Hair-styles









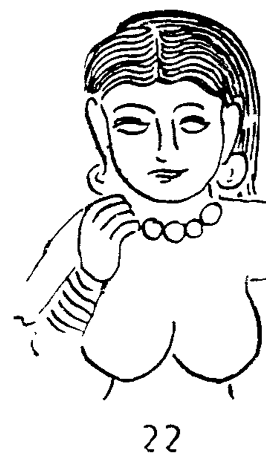








Fig. XXI Mathurā Female Hair-styles



Fig. XXII Ajanta Male Hair-styles

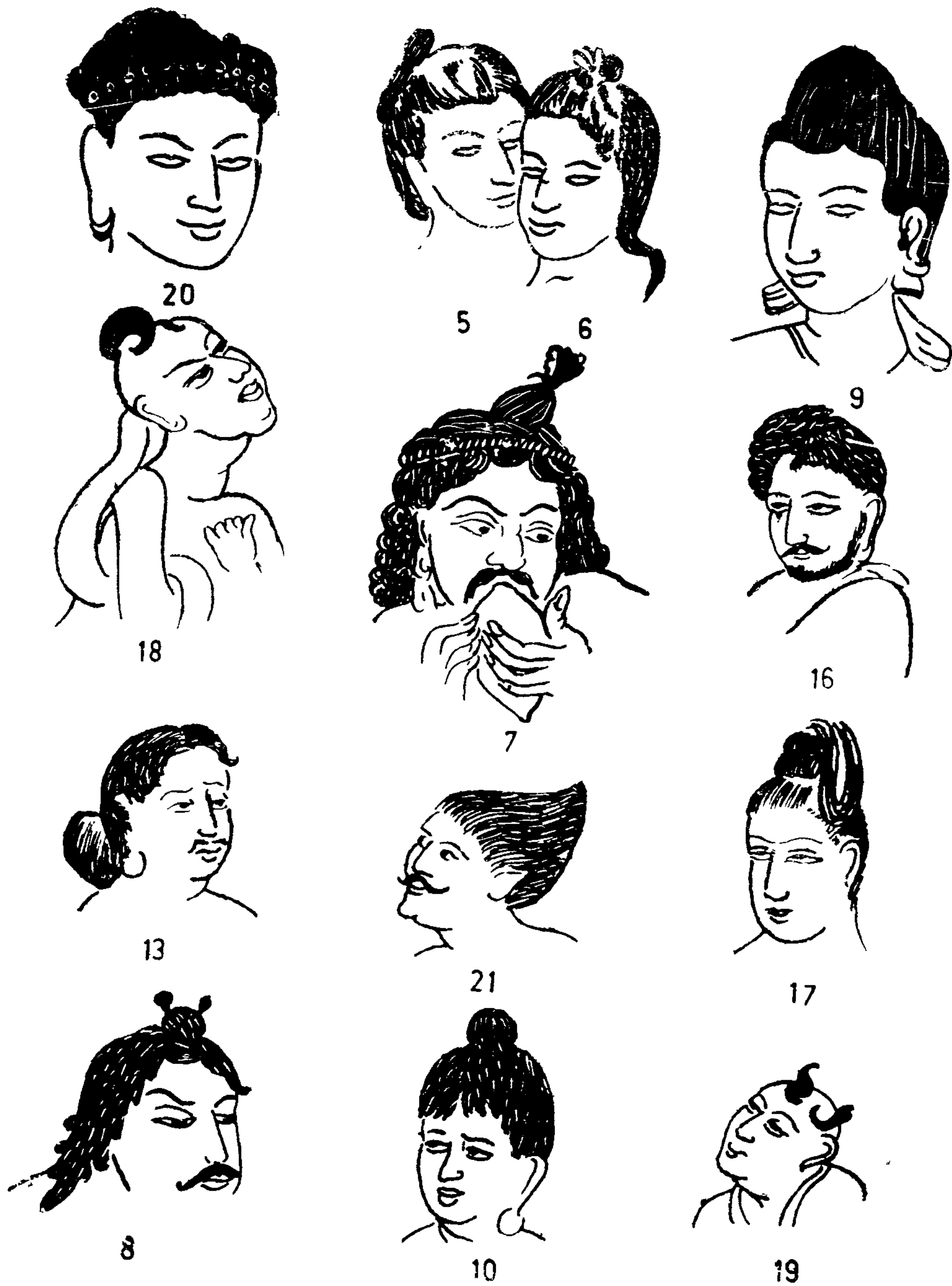


Fig. XXIII Ajanta Male Hair-styles

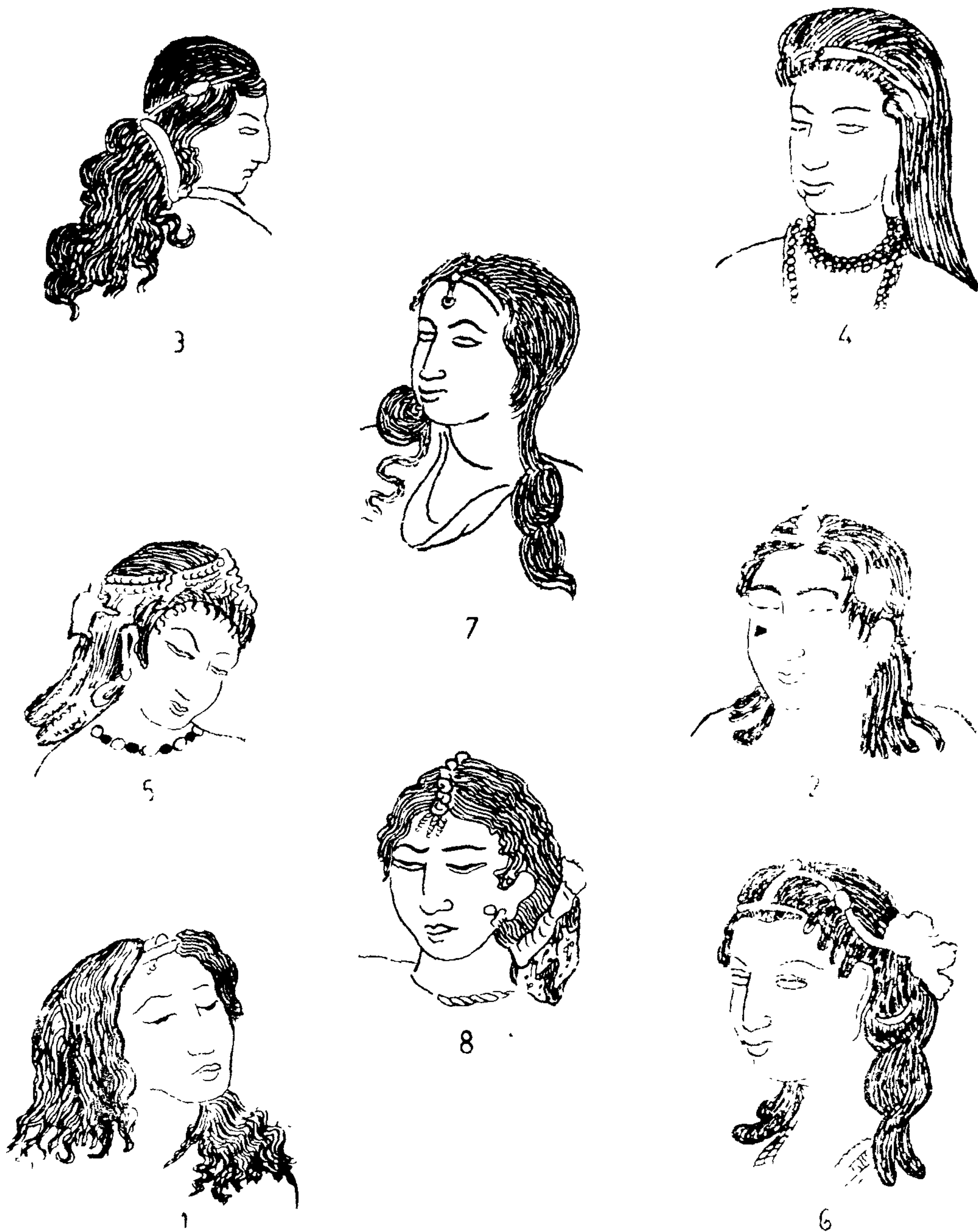


Fig. XXIV Ajanta Female Hair-styles



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11



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Fig XXV Ajanta Female Hair-styles



17



18



19



24



22



20 21



23

Fig. XXVI Ajanta Female Hair-styles



25



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Fig. XXVII Ajanta Female Hair-styles



